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# ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

## ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

# THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS.

48364

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,
AND ILLUSTRATED BY REMARKS.

CHIEFLY

FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS AND OTHERS IN INDIA.

BY

J. MUIR, ESQ., D.C.L.

LATE OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

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PART SECOND.

THE TRANS-HIMALAYAN ORIGIN OF THE HINDUS, AND THEIR AFFINITY WITH THE WESTERN BRANCHES OF THE ARIAN RACE.

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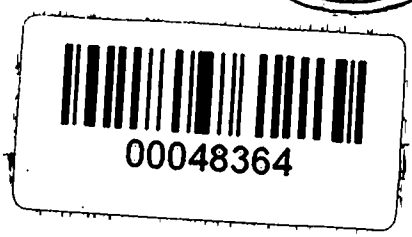

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# PREFACE.

MY primary object in this volume, as in its predecessor, has been to produce a work which may assist the researches of those Hindus who desire to investigate critically the origin and history of their nation, and of their national literature, religion, and institutions; and may facilitate the operations of those European teachers whose business it is to communicate to the Hindus the results of modern enquiry on the various subjects here examined.[1] The book (as will at once be apparent to the Oriental scholar) is, for the most part, either a compilation, or, at least, founded on the labours of others; but while my principal aim has been to furnish the reader with a summary of the results of preceding enquiries, my plan has, at the same time, rendered it necessary for me occasionally to institute fresh researches in different directions for the further elucidation of particular points which were touched upon in the course of my argument. In this way I may have succeeded in contributing a small proportion of ori-

[1] This peculiarity in the object of the treatise will account to the European scholar for the introduction of many details which would otherwise have been quite superfluous.

ginal matter to the discussion of some of the interesting topics which have come under review.

The obligations under which I lie to the different authors, whose labours have furnished the chief materials of this work, have been, in most instances, so fully acknowledged in detail in the following pages, that it is not necessary for me to allude to them here more particularly. I must, however, refer to the assistance which I have derived from the French version of the Rig-veda by M. Langlois, which, with his index, has directed my attention to various important passages in the later books, which I was then enabled to study in the original.

Though a small portion only of the present volume consists of "Sanskrit texts," which in some parts are altogether wanting, and in others but thinly scattered, (*apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,*) I have not considered it necessary to abandon the old title, but it has been slightly modified.

Although some idea of the object and contents of the volume may be gained from a perusal of the introductory statement of its plan (in pp. 1—3), and from the table at the close of this Preface, it may conduce to the convenience of those readers, who before entering on a perusal of the work desire to obtain a more precise conception of the course of the discussion, and of the process by which I have sought to establish my conclusions, if I subjoin here a brief concatenated summary of the principal topics in order.

The general object of the present Part is to prove that the Hindus were not indigenous in India, but have

immigrated into that country from Central Asia, where their ancestors at one time formed one community with the progenitors of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, &c. In order to establish this result I have sought to show that Sanskrit, the original language of the Hindus, exhibits undeniable marks of close affinity to the ancient languages of the other races just mentioned; and that the earliest religion, and mythology also, of India are connected with those of Persia by various points of contact and resemblance. Having adduced evidence on both these heads, and argued that these facts imply a common origin in the nations in question, and their subsequent dispersion from one common centre towards the different regions in which they ultimately settled; I endeavour to fortify the conclusions to which we are thus conducted by demonstrating that, in the earliest ages of their history, the ancestors of the Hindus appear to have occupied only the north-western corner of Hindusthan; and that, while they were connected on the one hand by affinities of language and religion with the nations of the west, they were on the other hand distinguished, both by language and by institutions, from certain other tribes with whom they came into collision as they advanced across the north of India, and afterwards diffused themselves to the south of the peninsula: for if we find that the Hindus originally possessed only the Panjāb, the presumption (derived from other considerations) that they immigrated from the north-west, becomes strengthened; and if, again, on their advance to the south-east, they encountered tribes with a different language and religion, already in occupation of those

tracts, the probability that they did not grow up in India, alongside of these alien tribes, acquires additional force.

In order to obtain a basis for carrying out the philological portion of this argument, viz., for comparing the original language of the Hindus with those of the Persians, Greeks, and Latins, it became necessary for me to prove that the Sanskrit, which is now a learned language only, was at one time spoken by the ancestors of the Hindus. This I have attempted to do in the First Chapter (pp. 4—223), by showing in detail that the original Sanskrit idiom has undergone a long series of gradual mutations, of which we now see the ultimate result in the modern vernacular dialects of the north of India. The method which I have adopted to exhibit this, has been to begin (Section i., pp. 4—10) with the existing spoken dialects, Urdu, Hindī, Mahrattī, &c., and to show what the elements are of which they are composed, viz., (1) pure Sanskrit, (2) modified Sanskrit, (3) Deśya or aboriginal non-Sanskrit words, and (4) words derived from Arabic and Persian. The fourth element is the latest which they have acquired, and dates only from the Mahomedan invasion; while the second and third (in a more or less different form) are common to them with the Prakrits, or older vernacular dialects, out of which they grew.

In the succeeding sections (ii.—vii., pp. 11—137) an account is given of these earlier vernaculars, viz. (1) the Prakrits, of which specimens are to be found in the different Hindu dramas, and which seem to have existed as spoken dialects, at least from the commencement of the Christian era until they became merged in

the modern vernaculars; (2) the Pali, or sacred language of the Buddhist books of Ceylon and Burmah, which appears to represent one of the provincial dialects of northern India existing at the time when Buddhism began to be propagated in the 6th century B.C., and exhibits to us the popular speech of that region at a somewhat earlier stage than the dramatic Prakrits; (3) the dialects (nearly contemporaneous with the Pali) which are employed in the rock and pillar inscriptions of Aśoka; and (4) the singular dialect or jargon employed in the Gāthās or metrical portions of the Buddhist chronicles of northern India. In this portion of the work some comparative tables are introduced, which exhibit (1) the relations, (*i.e.* the points of resemblance and of difference) between the modern vernaculars, Hindī, and Mahrattī, and the dramatic Prakrits, and show how the two former have been formed by a modification of all the various elements of the latter, just as they (the older Prakrits) in their turn, have sprung up (if we except a small non-Sanskritic residuum) from the gradual decomposition of the Sanskrit; (2) the forms which are common to the dramatic Prakrits, and the Pali, as well as those points in which they vary, and which demonstrate that the Pali diverges considerably less from the Sanskrit than the Prakrits do, and must consequently be more ancient than they; and (3) the relation in which the rock inscriptions stand to the Pali. In Section viii. (pp. 138—153) the conclusion is drawn that, as the vernacular speech of India, as far back as we are able to trace it, has been undergoing a continual series of mutations, and as the

older the form is in which we find it existing, the nearer it approaches to the Sanskrit in its words and its grammatical inflections,—it must at some period a little further back have entirely merged in Sanskrit and have been identical with it. Thus Sanskrit having been once the same with the oldest spoken language of India, must at that period have been a vernacular tongue. After some speculations on the history of the Sanskrit language and its mutations, some further arguments,—drawn partly from the parallel case of Latin (which though once a spoken tongue, was ultimately lost in its derivative dialects, Italian, &c.), and partly from certain phenomena in Indian literature, or notices occurring in Indian authors,—are adduced in Section ix. (pp. 153—168) in support of the position that Sanskrit was once a vernacular language, and that the Vedic hymns were composed in the same dialect which their authors habitually spoke. I then go on to argue further (Section x., pp. 169—223) that as Sanskrit was once a spoken tongue, it must in its earlier stages have been exposed to all the mutations to which all spoken languages are subject. That such has actually been the case, is clear from a comparison of the oldest Sanskrit, that of the Vedic hymns, with the form which it took in the later literature, and which (as it became exempt from further modifications by ceasing to be popularly spoken) it has continued ever after to retain. As, however, the distinction which is here drawn between the older and the more recent literature may be disputed by the Hindu student, I have considered it necessary to adduce proof of the assertion that the Vedic hymns are the oldest of all the

Indian writings; and with this view to ascend by gradual steps from the most recent commentaries on the Veda, through the Nirukta, the Brāhmaṇas, &c., to the hymn-collections, pointing out that each of these classes of works presupposes one of the others to have preceded it in regular order, and that such methods were employed by the commentators for the interpretation of the hymns as to prove that much of their language was already obsolete or obscure, and that consequently their priority in time to the very oldest of their expositors must have been very considerable. To complete the survey of the subject, I further show, that there is a difference in the ages of the several Vedas (the Rik, Yajush, Sāman, &c.) themselves, as well as between the different portions of each, as is distinctly evidenced by their contents. The superior antiquity of the Vedas to the other Indian writings is next proved by a statement of the differences discoverable between the religious systems of these two classes of works, the nature-worship of the Vedas supplying the original germ, out of which the Puranic mythology was slowly developed with innumerable modifications. The greater age of the Vedas is then shown by comparing a number of their grammatical forms with those of the later Sanskrit. Finally, I revert to the conclusion before indicated, that the language in which the Vedic hymns were composed can have been no other than the vernacular speech which was employed by the ṛishis and their contemporaries, as it is quite inconceivable that in that early age, when the refinements of grammar were unknown, there could have existed any learned language distinct from the ordinary dialect of the people.

Having thus shown cause for believing that Sanskrit, the original speech of the early Hindus (or Indo-Arians) was at one time a spoken language, and consequently liable, like all other spoken languages, to continual mutations in its earliest ages, and having by this means paved the way for proving that it is descended from one common mother with the ancient languages of the other Indo-European races, to which it exhibits the most striking family resemblance;—I proceed, in the Second Chapter (pp. 224—372) to produce the evidence which comparative philology furnishes of this resemblance, and to argue from the affinity of languages a community of origin between the different nations by which they were spoken. I then go on to bring forward the further grounds, supplied by comparative mythology and by other considerations, for supposing that the ancestors of the Hindus belonged to the same great family as the Persians, Greeks, Romans, &c., which had its original seats in Central Asia, and that, on the dispersion, in various directions, of the different branches of that ancient family, the Indo-Arians immigrated into Hindusthan from the north-west. The following are some of the details of this process of proof: In Section i. (pp. 226—232), a few simple remarks on comparative philology are premised, in which it is shown how, by a comparison of their roots and structure, languages can be distributed into different families, of which the several members have a more or less close affinity to each other, while they have little or no resemblance to the members of any other family. This is illustrated by a comparative table, in which it is shown that while Sanskrit has in many of its words a strong similarity to Persian, it

has scarcely any to Arabic; and by some other particulars. Section ii. (pp. 233—277) supplies detailed evidence of the affinities of Sanskrit with the Zend, Greek, and Latin, consisting, first, of comparative lists of words belonging to those languages which correspond with each other both in sound and sense; and secondly, of illustrations of the resemblances between those languages in their modes of inflection, as well as in the formation of words. As, however, the mutual differences which these languages also exhibit, might be urged as disproving the inference of their derivation from a common source, it is shown how, in the course of time, different branches of the same original tongue have an inevitable tendency to diverge more and more from the primitive type, both by modifying their old elements, and by assimilating new: and it is further pointed out that it is precisely those parts of a language which are the most primitive and essential in which the different Indo-European tongues coincide, while those in which they differ are such as would grow up after the nations which spoke them had been separated, and had become exposed to the action of diverse influences physical and moral. But as, admitting the resemblances between these languages, a Hindu might feel disposed to draw the conclusion that Sanskrit is the source of all the other kindred tongues, instead of being derived together with them from an older language, the common parent of them all,—to obviate this erroneous inference, it is next shown that the whole grammatical character of Greek and Latin is that of independent languages; that in this respect they differ

entirely from the Indian Prakrits (which have evidently resulted from the decomposition of Sanskrit), and that they even contain various forms which are older than those of the Sanskrit; while the greater part of their vocabulary is different. The same considerations apply, though not so strongly, to Zend. In Section iii. (pp. 277—281), the inference is drawn that affinity in language implies affinity in race; and that, therefore, the ancestors of the Hindus must at one time have lived in the same country, as a part of one and the same community, with the forefathers of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans. In such a case as is here supposed, those branches of the original nation which separated earliest from the others, would in after times exhibit the fewest points of resemblance in language and institutions to the rest, while those which remained longest together would show in all respects the closest mutual affinities. In Section iv. (pp. 281—285) it is argued that there is no objection arising from physiological considerations, *i. e.* from colour or bodily structure, to classing the Hindus among the Indo-European races. Section v. (pp. 285—298) exhibits the grounds which exist for supposing that the ancestors of the Indians and Iranians (or Persians) continued to form one community after the other kindred tribes had separated from them, and departed to distant regions. These grounds are, first, the closer affinity which subsists between Zend, the language of the ancient Persians, and Sanskrit (of which some illustrations are furnished); secondly, the fact that both nations in former times applied to themselves the appellation of *Árya;* and, thirdly, the nearer and more

numerous coincidences which are discoverable between the early mythologies of the two peoples, of which some details are adduced. From this more intimate affinity between the Indians and Persians, independent as both are of each other in their origin and development (see also pp. 314—317), a strong confirmation is derived to the general conclusion (deduced mainly from language) of the common origin of all the nations called Indo-European. In Section vi. (pp. 298—304) the theory of Mr. Curzon, that India was the original country of the Indo-European races, from which they issued to conquer, occupy, and civilise the countries lying to the north-west, is stated, together with some of the arguments by which he supports it. The remarks of Mr. Elphinstone, who leaves it undecided whether the Hindus were autochthonous or immigrant, are also quoted. In Section vii. (pp. 304—322) I cite the opinions of Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Weber, Spiegel, Renan, and Pictet, who concur in the conclusion that the cradle of the Indo-European race must be sought, not in India, but, as Schlegel, Lassen, and Pictet argue, in some central tract, from which the different branches of this great family could most easily have diffused themselves towards the widely-separated countries which they eventually occupied; a condition which would not be fulfilled by supposing a remote and southerly region, such as Hindusthan, to be the point of departure. Some of these writers draw the same inference from the relation in which the Indo-Arians stood to the aboriginal tribes whom they encountered in India. In opposition to Mr. Curzon, who represents the language

and religion of India as the sources from which those of all the other kindred races issued, Professor Spiegel maintains that the Iranian language and mythology, though owning a common origin, are in their development perfectly independent of those of the Indians. In the same section it is further urged that as neither the languages nor the mythology of the Greeks and Romans are derived from those of the Indo-Arians, there is no ground for supposing that the former nations emigrated from India at any period whatever.[2] Section viii. (pp. 323—339) contains the few passages I have been able to discover in the Indian authors which may be supposed to embody any reference (in no case, it must be confessed, other than a very obscure one) to the trans-Himalayan origin of their ancestors. The chief of these are the interesting paragraph of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, which contains the legend of the deluge in the oldest form in which it occurs in any Sanskrit work, and some texts relating to the northerly region of Uttara Kuru, the Ottorocorras of Ptolemy. In Section ix. (pp. 339—344) I have quoted, according to the versions of Spiegel and Haug, the first chapter of the Vendidad, which contains the oldest tradition of the Persians relative to Airyana-vaejo, the supposed primeval abode of their forefathers. Section x. (pp. 344—354) discusses the route by which the Aryas immigrated into India. Benfey thinks they may have crossed the passes of the Himālaya from Little Thibet, and following partly the various branches of the Ganges, have occupied first of all the tract between the Jumna and the Sarasvatī.

[2] Compare "Additions and Corrections," pp. 492, 493.

Schlegel and Lassen, on the other hand, are of opinion that they must have penetrated into India from the west by the route of Kabul and across the Indus. Roth and Weber also regard the Panjāb as the earliest seat of the Indo-Arians in Hindusthan. In Section xi. (pp. 354—372) I have endeavoured to show by quotations from the Vedas, that at the period when the hymns were composed, the Indians, though not unacquainted with the central provinces of northern India, were most familiar with the countries bordering on, or beyond the Indus, and the north-western parts of Hindusthan generally. From this fact, and from the testimony of later writers to their intercourse with tribes, apparently Arian in descent and language, residing in the Panjāb and on the other side of the Indus, I derive a confirmation of the view that the Hindus entered India from the north-west.

In the Third Chapter (pp. 373—465) I have sought to draw further arguments in support of the same conclusion, (1) from the distinction drawn by the authors of the Vedic hymns between their own kinsmen, the Aryas, and the tribes, differing from them in complexion, customs, and religion, whom they designate as Dasyus; (2) from the accounts occurring in the Brāhmaṇas and post-Vedic writings, of the gradual advance of the Aryas from the north-west of India to the east and south; and (3) from the well-established fact that the south-Indian languages are fundamentally different from the Sanskrit, and imply a non-Arian origin in the people by whom they were originally spoken. Section i. (pp. 374—384) contains a selection of passages from the Rig-veda, in which the

Aryas and the Dasyus are distinguished from one another, and reference is made to the enmity existing between the two. In most of these passages, it appears, human enemies and not demons must be intended under the appellation of Dasyus, as I infer both from the tenor of the texts themselves, and because in later writings, the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, the Institutes of Manu, &c., this word is always applied to barbarous tribes. Section ii. (pp. 384—413) supplies a further collection of Vedic texts, bearing upon the relations of the Aryas and Dasyus, and the characteristics of the latter as degraded, dark-complexioned, irreligious, neglecters of sacrifice, &c. There are indeed other texts in which these Dasyus are regarded as demons, and this creates a difficulty. An attempt is made at the close of the section to explain, (1) from the original position of the Aryas, as an invading tribe in a country covered by forests, and from the savage character of the aborigines, as well as (2) from the lengthened period during which the hymns continued to be composed,—how the same appellations and epithets might come to be applied to different classes of beings, human, etherial, and demoniacal, indiscriminately. In Section iii. (pp. 414—423) I quote the well-known passage from Manu's Institutes, which adverts to the superior sanctity of the country on the banks of the Sarasvatī, (which is in consequence presumed to have been for some time the seat of the most distinguished Indian sages, and the locality where the Hindu institutions were chiefly developed) and defines the limits of the several provinces of Brahmanical India, as then recognized. I next adduce a highly interesting

legend from the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa which narrates how the sacred fire (typifying, of course, the sacrificial rites of the Brahmans) travelled from the neighbourhood of the Sarasvatī eastward, across the River Sadānīrā into Videha, or north-Behar. Section iv. (pp. 423—440) presents a selection of passages from the great epic poem, the Rāmāyana, descriptive of the Rākṣhasas or gigantic demons by whom the Brahman settlers in southern India were oppressed and their rites obstructed, and whose monarch Rāvaṇa was vanquished and slain by the Indian hero Rāma, with the aid of an army of monkeys. In these poetic and hyperbolical descriptions, it is supposed we can discern the indistinct outlines of a great movement of the Aryas from the Doab southward across the Vindhya range, and their conflicts with the aboriginal tribes of the Dekhan, the enemies of the Brahmans and their institutions. The epithets applied to the Rākshasas in the Rāmāyana correspond in many respects, it is observed, with those employed in the Rig-veda to characterise the Dasyus, Rākshasas, and Yātudhānas. Section v. (pp. 438—440) contains some Hindu traditions regarding the tribes in the south of the peninsula, which however, are not considered to throw any light on their real origin. Section vi. (pp. 440—457) supplies a variety of details, derived from Mr. A. D. Campbell's Telugu Grammar (including the important note by Mr. F. W. Ellis), and Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages, by which it is clearly shown that the Tamil, Telugu, Malayālim, and Canarese tongues (which are spoken by thirty-one millions of people), though, at different periods since the occupation

of southern India by the Brahmans, they have received a large infusion of Sanskrit words, are, nevertheless, originally and fundamentally quite distinct from, and independent of, that language, and that Tamil composition in particular, is regarded by the native authors as pure and classical in proportion to its freedom from Sanskrit words. In the vii$^{th}$, and concluding Section (pp. 457—465), the results of the preceding sections are summed up. From the fact (established both by philological considerations, and by the testimony of the south-Indian grammarians) that the Dravidian languages are essentially distinct from Sanskrit, it is argued that the people by whom the former class of languages were spoken originally (*i.e.* before the Brahmanical invasion of the Dekhan) must have belonged to a race which had no affinity to the Sanskrit-speaking Aryas: and could not, therefore, as Manu asserts, have been degraded Kshattriyas. I then endeavour to show, how the results obtained in this Chapter, viz., (1) that the Aryas, when living in the Panjāb, came into conflict with an alien race called Dasyus; (2) that the Aryas can be shown from their own books to have at first occupied only the north-west of India and then to have advanced gradually to the east and south, and last of all to have crossed the Vindhya range into the Dekhan; and (3) that the original languages of the south of the peninsula are distinct from Sanskrit,—how, I say, these results harmonize with, or corroborate the theory that the Hindus, or Indo-Arians are not autochthonous, but immigrated into Hindusthan from the north-west.

The Appendix (pp. 467—487), and the "Additions and

Corrections" (pp. 488—495) contain some further illustrations of the subjects discussed in the body of the work, and in a few cases, supply some modifications of the text which closer research has rendered necessary.

In the notes towards the close of the Volume, and in the Appendices, the Sanskrit passages have been printed in the Italic character. The system I have followed is nearly that of Sir W. Jones. The distinctions between some similar letters have not always been very carefully indicated; but the Sanskrit scholar will have no difficulty in determining the words which are intended.

Nearly all the Sanskrit texts in this Volume, have been taken from printed editions. The quotations from those parts of the Rig-veda which have not yet appeared in Professor Müller's edition, have been copied from the MS. copy in my possession, alluded to in the Preface to the First Part. The quotations from Durgāchārya, in pp. 175, 176, and pp. 183, 184, have been derived from a MS. belonging to the East India House. That in p. 215 was, I believe, extracted from a MS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. The two passages from Bhāskara Acharyya, pp. 170 and 189, were obtained from Pandit Bapu Deva of the Benares College.

I owe it to the kindness of Professor Goldstücker, that I am able to adduce the extracts from the Nyāya mālā vistara, in pp. 66 and 190.

The work of M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, entitled: *Étude sur la Géographie et les Populations Primitives du Nord-ouest de l'Inde d'après les Hymnes Védiques* (which discusses many of the subjects handled in the present

volume), has only now come into my hands, as the last sheet, containing part of the Appendix and the "Additions and Corrections," is passing through the press.

The results at which this author has arrived in his valuable and ingenious dissertation, in regard to the origin of the Aryas, their immigration into India, and the direction of their movements within that country, correspond precisely with those which I myself had reached. His views on some points of detail on which I had adopted a different opinion, tell even more strongly than my own in favour of the general conclusions in which we both coincide.[3]

An Index to this, as well as the preceding Part is now under preparation, and will be published separately.

[3] I allude to his conclusion that the Sarayu referred to in the Veda was a river in the Panjāb (in support of which he refers to Burnouf's Bhag. Pur. ii. 455); and that the country of the Kīkaṭas must, most probably, have been in Kośala or Audh, and not in Magadha, or South Behar.

I am happy to learn from M. de Saint Martin's work that he intends to prosecute further his researches into the ethnography of India.

# CONTENTS.

PAGES

i.—xx. PREFACE.

1—3. PLAN OF THE PRESENT PART.

4—223. CHAPTER I. THE LANGUAGES OF NORTHERN INDIA: THEIR HISTORY AND RELATIONS.

4—10. Sect. I. The north-Indian dialects, ancient and modern.

11—43. Sect. II. The Prakrit dialects employed in the dramas.

43—52. Sect. III. On the origin and vernacular use of the scenic dialects.

53—65. Sect. IV. Views of the Indian grammarians on the relation of the Prakrits to Sanskrit, and on the other elements in their composition.

65—107. Sect. V. The Pali; and its relations to Sanskrit and Prakrit.

107—123. Sect. VI. The dialects of the rock and pillar inscriptions of Aśoka.

124—137. Sect. VII. The dialect of the Buddhist Gāthās, and its relation to the Pali: Summary of the results of this and the preceding sections.

138—153. Sect. VIII. On the original use of Sanskrit as a vernacular tongue; on the manner in which the Prakrits arose out of it, and on the period of their formation: views of Professors Weber, Lassen, and Benfey.

153—168. Sect. IX. Reasons for supposing that the Sanskrit was originally a spoken language.

PAGES

169—223. Sect. X. Various ages of Sanskrit literature, and the different forms in which they exhibit the Sanskrit language: the later Vedic commentators: earlier expounders: the Nirukta: the Brāhmaṇas: the Vedic hymns: imperfect comprehension of them in later times from changes in the language: the hymns composed in the vernacular idiom of their age.

224—372. Chapter II. Affinities of the Indians with the Persians, Greeks and Romans, and derivation of all these nations from Central Asia.

226—232. Sect. I. Introductory remarks on comparative philology: affinities of Sanskrit and Persian with each other.

233—277. Sect. II. Detailed illustrations of the affinities of Sanskrit with the Zend, Greek and Latin languages.

277—281. Sect. III. That affinity in language implies affinity in race: modes in which a greater or less diversity of language and institutions would arise in different branches of the same stock: Central Asia the birth-place of the Aryas.

281—285. Sect. IV. That there is no objection arising from physiological considerations, to classing the Indians among the Indo-European races.

285—298. Sect. V. Reasons for supposing the Indians and Persians in particular to have a common origin.

298—304. Sect. VI. Was India the primitive country of the Aryyas or Indo-European race?

304—322. Sect. VII. Central Asia the cradle of the Arians: opinions of Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Spiegel, Renan, and Pictet.

323—339. Sect. VIII. On the national traditions of the Indians regarding their own original country.

339—344. Sect. IX. Ancient Persian tradition of the earliest abodes of the Arian race.

344—354. Sect. X. What was the route by which the Aryas penetrated into India?

PAGES

354—372. Sect. XI. The immigration of the Indo-Arians from the north-west rendered probable by the tenor of the Vedic hymns.

373—465. CHAPTER III. THE ARIANS IN INDIA: THEIR ADVANCE TO THE EAST AND SOUTH.

374—384. Sect. I. Distinction drawn between the Aryas and Dasyus in the Rig-veda.

384—413. Sect. II. Additional Vedic texts bearing on the relations of the Aryas and Dasyus.

414—423. Sect. III. The Arians on the Sarasvatī, and their diffusion eastward and southward from that point.

423—438. Sect. IV. Advance of the Arians from the Doab across the Vindhya mountains: and their conflicts with the aboriginal tribes of the Dekhan.

438—440. Sect. V. Indian traditions regarding the tribes in the south of the peninsula.

440—457. Sect. VI. Languages of the south of India, and their fundamental difference from Sanskrit.

457—465. Sect. VII. Results deducible from the preceding sections.

467—487. APPENDIX.

488—495. ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

# ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

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## PART SECOND

# ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

## PART SECOND.

## PLAN OF THE PRESENT PART.

HITHERTO I have merely sought to bring together the accounts given in the Sanskrit authorities, especially the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, relative to the origin of the caste system prevailing among the people of India; and to show that these accounts, taken in their obvious sense, are inconsistent with each other; and that in consequence of this discrepancy, the theory, commonly received by the Hindus, of the original distinctness of the four castes, in virtue of their derivation from different portions of the Creator's body, is not established as the doctrine of Hinduism, even by a literal interpretation of these popular writings.

It will now be my endeavour to show by a series of proofs of a different description, derived from comparative philology, and from an examination of the earliest Hindu writings, the Vedas, not merely that the people of India who belong to the principal pure and mixed castes are of the same race with the neighbouring nations (which, as we have seen, Part I. pp. 175. ff. is the doctrine of Manu); but that they were not originally divided into castes, or indigenous in India, but in reality form a branch of the great Indo-European family, of which the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Germanic tribes were, or are, also members; and that while other branches of this great family, (which seems to have had its primeval abode in some distant country to the north-west of India), separated themselves from the main stock and migrated to the westward, the progenitors of the Hindus

travelled towards Hindusthan, where their original religious system was gradually modified, and the system of castes, and other institutions and tenets of Brahmanism were slowly developed.

The process of reasoning by which I hope to establish these conclusions is the following. First, I propose to show by an examination of the languages and literature of India that the Sanskrit is not, (as the Hindus appear to conceive), an immutable form of speech of divine origin, but is very different now from what it was when their ancestors first came into India. This will be made apparent by a comparison of the diction of the Vedic hymns with the language of the Itihāsas and Purāṇas; and that this difference is the result of gradual development will be proved by a reference to the natural laws of speech, and to the analogous process which the tongues of other nations have undergone; by an indication of the earlier stage through which the Sanskrit passed, viz., that shown in the Vedic hymns, before it attained its more modern form; by arguments drawn from the composition of such books as the Nighaṇṭu, and Nirukta, explanatory of obsolete words and phrases in the hymns, and from the existence of such liturgical commentaries as the Brāhmaṇas, and such speculative treatises as the Upanishads, which presuppose as already antiquated, or, at least antecedent, the hymns which they quote, and the sense of which they explain and develope. The difference in age between the various Indian Śāstras will be further briefly adverted to[1], and established by pointing out the great discrepancy between the religious ideas, forms of worship, and state of manners which they severally represent; the Vedic hymns being shown by all these various lines of proof to be the earliest of all the Indian books, and the others to follow from them by a natural course of growth and expansion. While the mutability and the actual mutations of the Sanskrit language are demonstrated by this historical outline of Sanskrit literature, the process of proof will be completed by some introductory

[1] The detailed treatment of this portion of the subject will be deferred to a later part of this work.

sections, showing how the spoken Sanskrit became gradually broken down and corrupted into the Pālī, and Prakrits, of bygone centuries, till it ultimately took the form of the modern vernacular dialects of Northern India.

Having thus shown the mutations which the Sanskrit has undergone since its introduction into India, I propose, secondly, to prove by a comparison of that venerable language with the Zend, Persian, Greek, Latin, and other western tongues, that these forms of speech are all closely related to each other, both in respect of roots, and forms of inflection; and this in such a manner as to show them to be sister-dialects, derived, by gradual alteration, from some more ancient, and now extinct, parent-language. From these facts, and others derived from Zend and Greek mythology and literature, I shall proceed to argue the common origin of the different nations,—generally called the Arian, Indo-Germanic, or Indo-European nations,—by which the above-mentioned languages have been spoken, and the equal footing in respect of civilisation, on which, in their earliest stages, they stood; as well as to evince the strong probability that the progenitors of the Hindus immigrated from the north or north-west into India.

I shall then endeavour to fortify these conclusions by exhibiting the collision of the Indo-Arians, after their arrival in India, with certain barbarous tribes, speaking a different language, and belonging to a different race, who occupied that country before their immigration, and by sketching a history of their advance to the south and east. These subjects will be illustrated from the data to be found in the Vedic hymns, the most ancient monuments of Indian antiquity, as well as in the other Śāstras of later date.

When the preceding points shall have been all sufficiently discussed, the several topics adverted to at the close of the introduction to the first Part of this Work, (pp. 3—4.) will still remain for consideration. These I shall hope to take up in one or more succeeding volumes.

# CHAPTER I.

## THE LANGUAGES OF NORTHERN INDIA: THEIR HISTORY AND RELATIONS.

### SECT. I.—*The North-Indian Dialects, Ancient and Modern.*

A SURVEY of the languages of Northern India reveals to us the following facts. We find, first, a polished and complicated language, the Sanskrit, popularly regarded as sacred, and in reality of very high antiquity; which is now, however, understood only by a few learned men, and spoken in their schools as the vehicle of discussions on grammar and philosophy, while it is totally unintelligible to the mass of the people. We find, secondly, a variety of provincial dialects which are employed both by the learned and the unlearned, viz. Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, Guzaratī, &c., all bearing a close resemblance to each other, and all composed, in a great measure, of the same roots.

The words of which these vernacular dialects are formed may be divided into four classes. First, such as are pure Sanskrit, as for example *parameśwara, devatā, swarga, strī, purusha, jana;* secondly, words which though modified from their original form, are easily recognisable as Sanskrit, such as *log* from *loka, istrī* from *strī, muṇh* from *mukha, bhāī* from *bhrātṛi, bhatīja* from *bhrātṛija, bāhin* from *bhāgĭnī, biyāh* from *vivāha, bhūiṇ* from *bhūmi,* and innumerable others in Hindī; thirdly, words which have no resemblance to any known Sanskrit vocables, and which we must therefore suppose to have an origin independent of that language, such as in Hindī, *bāp,* father, *bēṭā,* son, *pēṛ,* a tree, *chaukī,* a chair, *chūk,* a blunder, *khiṛkī,* a window, *jhāgṛā,* a dispute, *bakheṛā,* the same, *āṭā,*

flour, *chaṭāī*, a mat, and a multitude of other instances. Fourthly, words derived from Arabic, Persian, or some other foreign language, as *ādmī*, a man, *'aurat*, a woman, *hākim*, a ruler, *hăkĭm*, a physician, *durust*, right, *roz*, day, *dariyā*, a river, *roshanī*, light, &c. &c. &c.

Let us now see what is the history of these vernacular dialects. It is clear, for many reasons, that they cannot have existed for ever in their present form. *When*, therefore, and *how* have they been created? What do history and the books of Indian grammarians tell us on the subject?

If we begin with the Arabic and Persian words which the North-Indian dialects, such as Bengalī and Hindī contain, we shall find it to be universally admitted that words of this kind have only been introduced into those languages since the time when the Musulmans began to invade India. Now it is well known that Mahmūd of Ghazni made his first inroad into Hindusthan about 850 years ago. Before that time, and in fact till long afterwards, when the Mahomedans had penetrated from the north-west far into India, and taken possession of that country, there could have been scarcely any intermixture of Arabic or Persian words in the Indian dialects.[1]

[1] We learn, indeed, from the works of the ancient astronomer Varāha Mihira, that a few astronomical and astrological terms of Greek or Arabic derivation had been borrowed from the Arabian astronomers, and introduced into Sanskrit books. I allude to such words as *hōrā*, *ḍṛikāṇa*, *lipta*, *anaphā*, *sunaphā*, *āpoklima*, *rihpha*, which are of Greek origin, and *mukāriṇā*, *mukāvilā*, *tasdī*, *taslī*, &c., which are derived from the Arabic. (Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, II. 525. ff., and Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 227. and Indische Studien, II., pp. 254, and 263.) The following verse of Varāha Mihira proves clearly how much the Indian astronomers were indebted to the Greeks: —

म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम्। ऋषिवत् तेऽपि पूज्यन्ते किं पुनर्दैवविद् द्विजः॥

"For the Yavanas are Mlechhas; yet among them this science is thoroughly cultivated; and even they are revered like Ṛishis: how much more a Brahman

In the preface to the popular Urdu book, the Bāgh o Bahār, we have the following account by the author, Mīr Amman of Dehli, (who states that his forefathers had served all the kings of Hindusthan from Humayūn downwards), of the origin of the Urdu language; which I copy in the Roman character:—

"*Haqīqat Urdu kī zabān kī buzurgoṇ ke muṇh se yūṇ sunī hai kih Dillī shahr Hindūoṇ ke nazdīk chaujugī hai. Unheṇ ke rājā parjā qadīm se rahte the, aur apnī bhākhā bolte the. Hazār baras se Musulmānoṇ kā 'amal hūā. Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznavī āyā. Phir Ghorī aur Lodī bādshāh hūe. Is āmad o raft ke b'aiṣ kuchh zabānoṇ ne Hindū Musulmān kī āmezish pāī. Ākhir Amīr Taimur ne . . . Hindūstān ko liyā. Unke āne aur rahne se lashkar kā bāzār shahr meṇ dākhil hūā. Is wāste shahr kā bāzār Urdū kahlāyā. . . . Jab Akbar bādshāh takht par baiṭhe, tab chāron ṭaraf ke mulkoṇ se sab qaum qadrdānī aur faiẓrasānī us khāndān lāṣānī kī sunkar ḥuzūr meṇ ākar jama'a hūe. Lekin har ek kī gōyāī aur bolī judī judī thī. Ikaṭṭhe hone se āpas meṇ len den saudā sulf suwāl jawāb karte ek zabān Urdū kī muqarrar hūī. . . . . Nidān zabān Urdū kī manjte manjte aisī manjī kih kisū shahr kī bolī us se ṭakkar nahīn khātī.*"

"I have heard from the lips of my ancestors the following account of the Urdu language:—The City of Delhi in the opinion of the Hindus has existed during the four Yugas. It was inhabited of old by their kings with their subjects, who spoke their own *bhākhā* (dialect). A thousand years ago the rule of the Musulmans began. Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī came. Then the Ghorī and Lodī dynasties held sway. In consequence of this intercourse, a certain mixture of the languages of the Hindus

skilled in astrology!" (Colebrooke's Essays, II. 410.) This trifling exception, however, does not invalidate the assertion made in the text, that it was only after the settlement of the Musulmans in India that Arabic and Persian words came to be used in the dialects of India.

and Musulmans took place. At length Amir Taimūr . . . . conquered Hindustān. In consequence of his arrival and residence, the bāzār of the army was introduced into the city, and the bāzār of the city came in consequence to be called Urdū. . . . . When king Akbar ascended the throne, all races, learning the liberality of that unequalled family and its patronage of merit, gathered round his court from all the surrounding countries; but the language of all these people was different. From their being collected, however, trafficking together, and talking with each other, a camp (Urdū) language became established. . . . At length, the Urdū language, being gradually polished, attained such a degree of refinement, that the speech of no city can vie with it."

But it is only in the Urdu dialect, which is used by the Mahomedans and by those Hindus in the north-western provinces of India who have learnt the Persian language, that Persian and Arabic words are extensively employed. The words derived from those sources which exist in the Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, Guzaratī, and other North-Indian dialects in the form in which they are generally spoken *by the Hindus*, are considerably fewer in number. By far the larger portion of words in those tongues are (as has been already said) either (1) pure Sanskrit, or (2) corrupt Sanskrit, or (3) words which can be traced neither to Sanskrit nor to Persian or Arabic, and which I shall therefore style indigenous.

Several interesting questions arise here; as First, how far back can we trace the existing vernacular dialects, Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, Guzaratī, &c., in the form in which they are now spoken? Secondly, what has been the process of their formation? and, thirdly, from what source have they derived those words, as well as forms of inflection, which do not come from the Sanskrit?

The question regarding the antiquity of the existing vernaculars is one which I am not prepared to answer with any precision. Professor Lassen (Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ, p. 60) thinks

they have existed for at least 850 years. But it is sufficient for my purpose to show that they are not of any very great antiquity, but have been derived by a gradual process of change from other provincial dialects which preceded them; and which in their turn have sprung from the Sanskrit.

There is no difficulty in conceiving that the Indian vernacular dialects should have undergone great modifications in a long course of ages. The mere fact above adverted to, which every one recognizes, of their having at a particular assignable date admitted into their vocabulary a large influx of Persian and Arabic words is sufficient to render it probable that they may have formerly experienced other mutations of various kinds.

The circumstance, too, that the people who inhabit the different provinces of northern India make use of different provincial dialects, Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, &c., which are all evidently derived from the same common source, is a proof of the tendency to change which is inherent in all spoken language. For as the inhabitants of all these provinces profess the same creed, receive the same religious books, and are divided into the same or similar castes, and for these and other reasons appear manifestly to be descended from one common stock; it is clear that their common ancestors must, at one time, have employed one and the same language: and that that language has in process of time undergone various provincial modifications out of which the several modern vernaculars have been gradually formed.

We shall also see, a little further on, that the differences between the North-Indian dialects (the old Mahārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, &c.) which preceded the modern vernacular tongues, were few and unimportant; whereas the modern vernacular tongues, Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, and Guzaratī, differ very widely from each other in their forms of inflection and conjugation. This greater divergence between the modern than we find to have existed between the earlier dialects, evinces clearly the tendency to continual alter-

ation, which I have remarked as a characteristic of language in general.

I shall first of all state briefly the facts by which it is proved that the modern vernaculars are not, comparatively speaking, of any great antiquity, but have arisen out of earlier provincial dialects:—and then proceed to establish these facts more in detail.

First. In extant Buddhist histories, such as the Lalita Vistara composed in Sanskrit, numerous verses, styled Gāthās, are interspersed, the language of which differs from pure Sanskrit, by the forms of inflection being altered or mutilated. This mutilated Sanskrit, or something akin to it, appears to have been at one time the spoken language of India; or, at least, this Gāthā dialect exhibits some specimens of that ancient spoken language, and exemplifies the process by which the Sanskrit, itself at one time a spoken language, became gradually corrupted.

Second. It has been discovered that many inscriptions are extant, engraven on rocks in different parts of India, bearing date between two and three hundred years anterior to the Christian era, in which a language differing both from Sanskrit, and the modern vernaculars is used.

Third. There are extant in other countries such as Ceylon and Burmah, very ancient Buddhist books written in a language called Pāli or Māgadhī, which also is different from the modern vernaculars, as well as from Sanskrit, while it closely resembles the language of the rock inscriptions just alluded to.

Fourth. In ancient Indian dramas such as the Mṛichhakaṭī, Śakuntalā, &c., while kings and Brahmans are made to speak Sanskrit, various forms of speech called Prākṛit and Apabhraṅśa are employed for the inferior castes and for women, which in like manner, differ both from Sanskrit and from the existing vernacular tongues.

The four foregoing classes of language have a more or less close affinity to each other; and from the use made of the last

three in particular, viz., that used in the rock inscriptions, that found in the Pālī Buddhistical writings, and those employed in the dramas, it is impossible to doubt that either they, or forms of speech closely connected with them, were formerly current, during a long course of centuries, as the actual vernaculars of the periods when they were employed for literary, political, and religious purposes.

But while we thus discover that Pālī and different forms of Prakrit, such as have been described, were employed in former times, we can find no traces of the modern vernacular dialects, Hindī, Bengalī, or Mahrattī, &c., in their present shape, in the ancient records of that same period; and we must therefore of necessity conclude, that these modern vernaculars did not at that time exist, but have been subsequently developed out of the above-mentioned Prakrit languages and other pre-existent forms of speech; in other words that the former vernaculars (or Prakrits) have been gradually altered until they have assumed the form of the modern Hindī, Bengalī, Mahrattī, &c.

I shall now proceed to supply a more detailed account of those forms of vernacular speech already alluded to, which appear to have preceded the existing varieties, and which are now obsolete. In carrying out this design, it will be advisable to begin with those dialects which seem to be the most recently formed and employed, of the four Indian classes of speech which have been before alluded to, viz., first, that found in the Buddhist Gāthās; secondly, that used in the rock inscriptions; thirdly, the Pālī; and fourthly, the dramatic Prakrits. The last named class appearing to be the most recent, I shall first subject it to examination, and then proceed to the others.

## SECT. II.—*The Prakrit Dialects employed in the Dramas.*

With the view of ascertaining the relation in which the Prakrit languages stand to the modern vernaculars of northern India, I have gone cursorily over several of the dramas in which they are employed, such as Mṛichhakaṭī, attributed to King Śūdraka, and the Vikramorvasi attributed to Kālidāsa, (both of which, though their precise age be disputed, appear to have been respectively composed, at the latest, about sixteen and fourteen hundred years ago[2],) together with several others. I have also referred to the examples given in the Prakrit Grammar of Vararuchi, which is considered by Lassen to have been composed about 1800 years ago[3], or rather in its commentary. An examination of the Prakrits which are found in these several works shows that the languages of India were then in a state of transition, and formed an intermediate link between the Sanskrit, and the modern vernacular dialects. The Prakrit forms of inflection and declension approach more to the Sanskrit than to the modern vernaculars; but yet exhibit a great breaking down and modification of the former. I will give some instances of this which will make my meaning clearer than any

[2] Professor Wilson, reasoning from a variety of considerations, considers the Mṛichhakaṭī to have been probably composed in the interval between 100 B.C. and the end of the second century, A.D. (Introduction to the play, pp. 5—9.) The same writer thinks that the Vikramorvasi, which is regarded as the work of Kālidāsa, is more recent than the Mṛichhakaṭī, but does not assign any probable date. (Introd. to drama, p. 185, 186.) Lassen holds that the Mṛichhakaṭī was composed towards the end of the first century, A.D, while the Vikramorvasi and the Śakuṇṭalā (which last is also assigned to Kālidāsa) were composed in the second half of the second century, A.D. (Ind. Alt. ii. p. 1160.) Weber, on the other hand, in his latest notice of the subject in the Introduction to his Mālavikā and Agnimitra, pp. xxxiii. xl. places the age of Kālidāsa, the author of the Vikramorvasi and Śakuṇṭalā, at the close of the third century, A.D. The Mṛichhakaṭī is held by the same author to be not earlier than the second century, A.D. (Ind. Stud. ii. 148.)

[3] Ind. Alterth., vol. ii. p. 1160.

general statements. I do not think it necessary to distinguish here the different kinds of Prakrit, which will be specified further on.

| Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindī. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bhavāmi | Homi | Hūṇ | I am. |
| Bhavasi | Hosi | Hai | Thou art. |
| Bhavati | Hodi | Hai | He is. |
| Bhavanti | Honti | Haiṇ | They are. |
| Uttishṭha | Uṭṭhehi | Uṭh | Rise. |
| Prāpnomi | Pāvimi | Pāta-hūṇ | I obtain. |
| Śṛiṇomi | Śuṇāmi | Suntā-hūṇ | I hear. |
| Śṛiṇu | Suṇu, *or* Suṇāhi | Sun | Hear (imper.). |
| Kathaya | Kahēhi | Kah | Tell. |
| Dadāmi | Dēmi | Detā-huṇ | I give. |
| Dadāti | Dēdi | Detā-hai | He gives. |
| Dattam | Diṇṇam | Diyā, Dīn | Given |
| Nrityati | Năchchai | Nāchtā | He dances. |
| Rakshāmi | Rakkhāmi | Rakhtā-hūṇ | I keep. |
| Dhāva | Dhovehi | Dho | Wash. |
| Brūmah | Bollāmo | Bolte | We speak. |
| Patāmi | Paṛemi | Paṛtā | I fall. |
| Nishkāśaya | Nikkālēhi | Nikāl | Exclude. |
| Ghritam | Ghiă | Ghī | Ghee. |
| Mukha | Muha | Muṇh | Mouth. |
| Kāryyam | Kajjam | Kāj | Work. |
| Karma | Kamma | Kām | Work. |
| Karṇa | Kaṇṇa | Kān | Ear. |
| Twam | Tumam | Tum | Thou or you. |
| Tubhyam | Tujh | Tujh | To thee. |
| Yushmākam | Tumhāṇam | Tumhārā | Of you. |
| Asti | Atthi, *or* Achchhi | Āchchhe (Beng.) | He is. |
| Santi | Achchhanti | Āchchhen(ditto.) | They are. |

It is manifest that in these instances we see the intermediate forms which the words took in Prakrit before they assumed the shapes in which we now find them in Hindī or Bengalī, *e.g.*, *karma* and *kāryya* became in Prakrit respectively *kamma* and *kajja*, and finally in Hindī *kām* and *kāj*. The Sanskrit form *rakshāmi* (I keep) re-appears in the Prakrit *rakkhāmi* with the compound consonant *ksh* changed into *kkh*,

but with *āmi* the final affix of the first person singular unchanged. In the modern vernacular the former change remains, but the word has undergone a farther modification, the peculiar affix of the first person singular *āmi* having disappeared in the Hindī *rakhtā*, which does not differ from the second and third persons. A fuller exemplification of the points in which the Prakrits coincide with, and diverge from, the Sanskrit, on the one hand, and approximate to the modern vernaculars, on the other, will be found in the tabular statement subjoined.

The books to which reference has been made in this statement are the following:—Mr. Cowell's Prākrita Prakāśa of Vararuchi; Lassen's Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ; Delius's Radices Pracriticæ; the Mṛichchhakaṭi, Stenzler's edition; the Śakuntalā, Boehtlingk's edition; the Prabodha Chandrodaya, Brockhaus's edition; Malavikā Agnimitra, Tullberg's edition; and the Vikramorvasi, Calcutta edition.

No. I.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF SANSKRIT, PRAKRIT, AND MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindī. | Mahrattī. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mṛichh. 3. 126 . . | घृतम् | घिअं | घी | घी | ghee. |
| Mṛichh. 3 / Var. v. 25 . . . | दधि | दहीं, दहिं | दही | दहीं | curds. |
| Var. ii. 27 . . . | मुख | मुहं | मुंह | मुख | mouth. |
| Var. ii. 27 . . . | बधिर | वहिर | बहिरा | बहिरा | deaf. |
| Var. ii. 27 . . . | मेघ | मेहो | मेंह | मेघ (ढग) | cloud. |
| Var. v. 19 . . . | वधू | वहू | बहू | बायको, बाईल | wife. |
| Mṛichh. 164. 168 . . | साधुः | साहू, शाहू | साहू | साहू, सावकार | good: banker. |
| Var. iii. 3. 17 . . | कार्य्यम्, कर्मन् | कज्ज, कम्मो | काज, काम | काज, काम | work. |
| Var. iii. 17 / Var. ix. 17 . . | आर्य्ये | अज्जे | . . | . . | respectable. |
| Var. ii. 10 . . . . | गर्भिन् | गब्भिण | गब्भिन् | गाभण | pregnant. |
| Var. iii. 2. 50 . . | योग्यम् | जोग्गं | जोग | जोगा | proper. |
| Var. iii. 2 . . . | राज्य | रज्ज | राज | . . | kingdom. |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Var. iii. 27<br>Mṛichh. 31 | अद्य | अज्ज | आज | आज | to-day. |
| Vikr. 78. 79 | वाद्यमानैः | वज्जन्तेहिं | बजाना | बजाविएं | to sound. |
| Var. iii. 3 | अर्द्धम् | अद्धं | आधा | आधा | half. |
| Var. iii. 3. 50 | कर्णः | कण्णो | कान | कान | ear. |
| Śak. 25 | खर्ज्जूरैः | खज्जूरेहिं | खजूर | खजूर | date tree. |
| Mṛichh. 104 | चर्म्मकारः | चम्मारओ | चमार | चम्हार | Chumar. |
| Var. iv. 1 | कुम्भकारः | कुम्भारो | कुम्हार | कुंभार | potter. |
| Var. iii. 3 | सर्वम् | सव्वं, श्रव्वं | सब | . . | all. |
| Mṛichh. 124 | सुवर्ण | श्रोवण्ण | सोना | सोनें | gold. |
| Var. iii. 27 | सत्यम् | सच्चं | सच | साच | true. |
| Var. iii. 4<br>Mṛichh. 44 | चन्द्रः | चंदो | चान्द | चांद | moon. |
| Vikr. 23 | चन्द्रेण | चांदएण | . . | . . | by moon. |
| Var. iii. 28 | मध्य | मज्झो | मंझला, मझोला | माज | middle. |
| Var. iii. 12 | हस्तः | हत्थो | हाथ | हात | hand. |
| Mṛichh. 7. 120 | वृद्ध | वुड्ढ | बुढा | . . | old. |
| Vikr. 107 | वृद्धाम् | ड्ढिं | बुढ़िया | . . | old woman. |

| References. | Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindī. | Mahrattī. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vikr. 121 . . . . | ज्येष्ठ | जेट्ठ | जेठा | . . | eldest. |
| Var. iii. 1. 50 . . | मुष्टि | मुट्ठि | मुट्ठि | मूठ | fist: handful. |
| Var. iii. 1. 51<br>Mṛichh. 28. 142 | श्रेष्ठि | सेट्ठि | सेठ | शेट | superior, banker. |
| Mṛichh. 18. 30 . . | काष्ठेन | कट्ठेण | काठ | काठी | wood, a pole. |
| Mṛichh. 18. 21 . . | शुष्क | सुक्ख, शुक्ख | सूखा | सुखा, सुका | dry. |
| Mṛichh. 53 . . . | साक्षिन् | सक्खि | साखी | . . | witness. |
| Var. i. 20, and iii. 12 | पुस्तकम् | पोत्थओ | पोथी | पोथी | book. |
| Var. iii. 29<br>Mṛichh. 54 . . | पुष्करः | पोक्खरो | पोखरा | पोखर | pond. |
| Mṛichh. 99<br>Var. iii. 29 . . | दक्षिणे | दक्खिणे | दखिन | . . | south.[3] |
| Lassen, 263<br>Mṛichh. 97. 117 . | दक्षिणम् | दाहिणं | दादिना | . . | on the right hand.[3] |
| Var. iii. 40<br>Mṛichh. 99 . . | पश्चिमः | पच्छिमो | पच्छिम | . . | west. |
| Var. iii. 1 . . . | भक्त | भत्तं | भात | भात | boiled rice, rice in husk. |
| Mṛichh. 104 . . . | ग्रन्थि | गण्ठि | गांठ | गांठ | joint. |
| Var. i. 12 . . . . | पिष्टम् | पिट्ठं | पीटना | पिटणें | to pound. |

[3] Here the same Sanskrit word undergoes the *same* changes in Prakrit and Hindī according to its two different meanings.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mṛichh. 105 . . . | पृष्ठतः | पिट्ठिदो | पीट | . . . | at the back. |
| Var. i. 36 . . . . | चैत्र | चइत्तो | चैत | . . | name of a month. |
| Mṛichh. 120 / Var. iii. 29 . . | क्षेत्र | खेत्त | खेत | खेत | field. |
| Mṛichh. 94. 95 . . | मृत्तिका | मट्टिआ | मट्टी | माती | earth. |
| Var. iii. 40 . / Mṛichh. 71. 150 | पश्चात् | पच्छादो, पच्छा | पाच्छे | . . | after. |
| Var. iii. 2 . . . | नग्न | णग्गो | नंगा | नंगा | naked. |
| Var. iii. 40 . . . | वत्स | वच्छ [4] | बच्चा | वच्चा | child, &c. |
| Var. iv. 9. 26 / Vikr. 36 . . | विद्युत् | विज्जू, विज्जुली | बिजली | वीज | lightning. |
| Var. i. 32., iii. 31 . | वृक्षः | वुच्छो [5] | वृच्छ | वृक्ष | tree. |
| Mṛichh. 73. 79 . . | रूक्षः [6] | रुक्ख, लुक्ख | रूख | . . | tree. |
| Var. i. 30., iii. 30 | ऋक्षः | रिच्छो | रीछ | . . | a bear. |
| Mṛichh. 72 / Var. v. 35 . . | भ्राता | भादा, भाआ | भाई | भाऊ | brother. |
| Mṛichh. 72 . . . | अष्टमम् | अट्ठमं | आठवां | आठवा | eighth. |
| Mṛichh. 71 . . . | सप्तमम् | सत्तमं | सातवां | सातवा | seventh. |

[4] The Persian has the same form. [5] Vararuchi gives the form वच्छ not वुच्छ which I find in the Mṛichh. p. 73.

[6] रूक्षः is given in Wilson's dictionary as one of the Sanskrit words for a tree; but it may have crept in from Prakrit.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindī. | Mahrattī. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Var. iii. 35 Mṛichh. 93 | पुष्पम् | पुप्फं | पुहप | . . | flower. |
| Var. i. 8 . . . . | मयूर | मोरो | मोर | मोर | peacock. |
| Var. i. 7 . . . . | लवणम् | लोणं | लोन | लोण | salt. |
| Mṛichh. 11. 94. and 113. 138 | भगिनीम् | बहिणिं | बहिन | बहीण | sister. |
| Mṛichh. 117 . . . | शूकरः | शूअले [7] | सूअर | . . | hog. |
| Var. i. 28., xi. 17 Mṛichh. 11 . . | शृगाली | शिआली, सिआली | सियाल | . . | she jackall. |
| Mṛichh. 120 . . . | वीज | वीअ | बीआ | बीज, बी | seed. |
| Mṛichh. 77 . . . | वणिक् | वाणिओ [8] | बनिया | वाणी | merchant. |
| Mṛichh. 78 . . . | कायस्थः | कात्रत्थओ | कायथ | कायत | Kāyasth. |
| Lassen, p. 172. 218., Mṛichh. 29. 30. 151., Var. iv. 2 | देवालयः, देवकुलम् | देउलु, देवलं | देवल | देवळ, देऊळ | temple. |
| Var. iv. 1 . . . . | राजकुलम् | राअउलं, राउलं | राव़ल (a priest.) | राऊळ (a palace.) | royal family. |

[7] This word is in the Śakārikā, one of the Apabhransa dialects. In ordinary Prakrit it would probably be सूअरो.

[8] वाणिओ Mṛichh. 28 and 50.

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| Mṛichh. 30. 38. 39 | द्यूतकरः | जूदिअरो जूदिअरु जूदिअलो | जुआरी | जुगारी | gambler. |
| Var. viii. 25 . . . | स्थान | ठाण | ठांव़ | ठाण | place. |
| Var. iii. 33 . . . | स्नान | ण्हाण | नहान | नहाण, न्हाण | bathing. |
| Var. iii. 33. 61 . . | कृष्णः | कण्हो | कनहैया, कान्ह [9] | कन्हैया, कान्होबा | Krishṇa. |
| Var. iii. 3 / Mṛichh. 13 . . | ग्राम | गाम | गांव़ | गांव | village. |
| Mṛichh. 97 / Var. iv. 25 . . | ग्राम्याः | गामेलुआ [10] | गांव़ाला | . . | villager. |
| Mṛichh. 69. 96 . / Lassen, p. 172. 425 | बलिवर्द्दाः | वद्दला | बैल | बैल | oxen. |
| Mṛichh. 6. . . . | दरिद्रतया | दलिद्दाए | दलिद्रता | . . | poverty. |
| Mṛichh. 12. 44. 164 / Var. xii. 22 . . / Vikr. 30 . . . | स्त्रियम् / स्त्रिया | इत्थियं [11] / इत्थिआए | दखी | . . . | woman. |
| Mṛichh. 18. 23. 58 . | श्याल | सालअ, सालो | साला | साला | brother-in-law. |
| Var. iii. 14. 50. and / Mṛichh. 40 . . | स्तम्भः | खम्भो | खम्भा | खांब | pillar. |
| Var. iii. 29 . . . | स्कन्धः | खन्धो | कन्धा | . . | shoulder. |

[9] Kānhpur (city of Kānh, or Krishṇa), is the proper name of Cawnpore. When *Krishṇa* means *black*, it becomes *Kasaṇo* in Prakrit, according to Var. iii. 61.

[10] See Lassen, p. 425, who says गामेलुआ = quasi ग्रामालयुकाः.

[11] This word is in the Śakārikā dialect.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindi. | Mahratti. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mṛichh. 43<br>Mṛichh. 50 | वहिस्, वाह्य | वाहिल, वाहिर | बाहिर | बाहेर | outside. |
| Mṛichh. 126 | वृद्धे, वृहति | वड्ढके, वड्ढकाहिं | बड़ा | . | great. |
| Mṛichh. 131<br>Var. iii. 39 | कार्षापणम् | कहावणं<br>काहावणे | कहावन, काहन | . | 16 panas of cowries. |
| Var. iii. 58<br>Mṛichh. 73. 134 | दीर्घिका | दिग्घिआ, दीहिआ | दिघी | . | oblong pond. |
| Var. v. 24 | हरिद्रा | हलद्दा, हलद्दी | हलदी | . | turmeric. |
| Var. ii. 31 | यशस् | जसो | जस | जस | glory. |
| Var. iii. 29<br>Mṛichh. 150 | क्षेमं | क्खेमं | खेम | खेम | welfare. |
| Mṛichh. 175<br>Var. iii. 26 | गर्द्दभः | गद्दहो, गड्डहो | गदहा | गाढव | ass. |
| Var. iii. 28. 56 | सन्ध्या | संझा [12] | सांझ | सांझ | evening. |
| Var. iv. 25 | एतावत् | एत्तिअं | इतना | . | so much. |

[12] In this and other instances, the rules and examples given would, of course, account, by analogy, for the existence of many other modern vernacular words, of which the earlier Prakrit form may not now be discoverable in any extant work. Thus the Hindī and Mahrattī word बांझ, a barren woman, is formed from the Sanskrit बन्ध्या in the same way as सांझ comes from सन्ध्या; and as in the latter case we find the earlier Prakrit form to have been संझा, so we may suppose the older Prakrit form of बांझ to have been बंझा. And the same must have been the case in numerous other instances. [In fact, since the above was written, I have actually found the word वञ्झा, a barren woman, in Clough's Pali Grammar, p. 37.]

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| Mṛichh. 44 . . . | अन्धकारस्य | अन्धआरस्स | अन्धियारा | अंधार | darkness. |
| Vikr. 49., and Lass. 249., Campbell's Tel. Gr. note to Introd. p. 13. | उपाध्यायस्य | उज्झआस्स<br>ओझाओ | ओझा [13] | . . | religious teacher. |
| Var. iii. 18., and Vikr. 9 . . | आश्चर्य्यम् | अच्छेरं, अच्चरीअं | अचरज | . . | wonderful. |
| Var. xii. 6<br>Vikr. 103 . . | गृध्रेण | गिद्धेण | गिध | गीध | vulture. |
| Vikr. 112. . . . | मातरम् | मादरं [14] माअं, | मा | आई, माई [15] | mother. |
| Var. v. 32. . . . | माता | माआ | | | |
| Vikr. 112<br>Vikr. 116 . . | पितरम्<br>पितुः | पिदरं [16] पिअरं,<br>पिदुणो | पिता, बाप | पिता, बाप | father. |
| Mṛichh. 14. 95. 116. 141., Var. iv. 32 | गृहम् | घलं, घरं, गिहं, हरअं | घर | घर | house. |
| Var. ii. 2 . . . . | जीव | जीअं | जी | . . | life. |
| Var. ii. 2 . . . . | सूची | सूई | सूई | सुई | needle. |
| Var. ii. 2. iii. 50 . | मार्ग | मग्गो | . . | . . | path. |
| Var. iii. 48 . . . | आत्मनः | आपणो [17], अप्पणो | . . | . . | self. |

[13] Ōjhā is the designation of a particular tribe of Brahmans. [14] In Persian *mādar*. [15] Mahrattī of Nagpur. [16] In Persian *padar*.

[17] See Lassen, Inst. Pracr. p. 315. Burnouf (Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 660,) observes that the form *āptano* or *ātpano*, which occurs in the rock inscription of Girnar, is the intermediate step by which *ātman* was transformed into *appā*, *appano*, &c.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindī. | Mahrattī. | English. |
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| Mṛichh. 12. 78. 103. 104 . . . . . | आत्मा | आपा, अप्पा | आप | आपण | self: great-souled. |
| Śak. 105 . . . . . | आत्मानम् | अप्पाणं, आपाणं | . . | . . | |
| Prabodhach. 12. 28. 37. 46. 63. 68 . . | महात्मनाम् | महाप्पाणाणं, महाप्पाणं | . . | . . | |
| Prab. 63 Var. iii. 1 . . . | स्थले | थले | थल | . . | dry land. |
| Var. iv. 15., Śak. 21 | अश्रु | अंसू, अस्सु | आंसू | असूं, आसू | tear. |
| Var. iii. 2., v. 14., vi. 60 . . . | अग्निम् | अग्गिं | आग | आग | fire. |
| Var. iii. 60 Lassen, 284 . . | क्रिया | किरिआ | किरिया | . . | ceremony. |
| Var. iii. 8 . . . . | ब्राह्मणः | वम्हणो | बाम्हन | बामण | Brahman. |
| Var. iii. 25 . . . | गर्त्तः | गड्डो | गढ़ा | . . | cavity. |
| Var. i. 18., ii. 27 . | गभीरम् | गहिरं | गहिरा | गहिरा | deep. |
| Var. iv. 31 . . . | मलिनं | मद्दलं | मैला | . . | dirty. |
| Var. i. 9 . . . . | चतुर्थी | चउत्थी, चोत्थी | चौथी | चौथा | fourth. |
| | चतुर्दशी | चउद्दही, चोद्दही | चौदहवीं | चौदा | fourteenth, fourteen. |

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| Var. iii. 44 . . . | पञ्चदश: | पण्णारहो | पंदरहवां | पंधरा | fifteenth, fifteen. |
| Var.ii.41., Mṛichh.70 | षष्ठी | छट्ठी | छठी | . . | sixth. |
| Var. ii. 14. 44 . . | एकादश, द्वादश, त्रयोदश | एआरह, वारह, तेरह[18] | दुगारह, बारह, तेरह | बारा, तेरा | eleven, twelve, thirteen. |
| Lassen 271. 318 Var. vi. 59 . . | द्वयो: | दोण्हं, दोसं | दोनों | . . | of two. |
| Lassen, 318. Mṛichh. 101., Var. vi. 54 | द्वौ, द्वाभ्याम्, द्वयो: | दुए, दो, दोहिं, दोसु | दो | दोन | two. |
| Lassen, 319., and Var. vi. 56 . | त्रीणि | तिण्णि | तीन | तीन | three. |
| Lassen, 319 . . . | षट् | छ | छ: | . . | six. |
| Lassen, 320 . . . | विंशति | वीसई | बीस | वीस | twenty. |
| Lassen, 320 . . . | त्रिंशत् | तीसआ | तीस | तीस | thirty. |
| Var. iii. 30. 31 . . | क्षणम् | छणं | छन | . . | moment. |
| | क्षमा | छमा | छमा | . . | patience. |
| | मक्षिका | मच्छिआ | मक्खी | . . | a fly. |
| Var. iii. 52., iv. 1 . | स्रोतस् | सोत्तो | सोता | . . | stream. |
| Var. i. 12 . . . . | निद्रा | णिद्दा | नीन्द | नीद | sleep. |

[18] See Cowell's note on Var. ii. 44.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindī. | Mahrattī. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lassen, 246 Var. iii. 53 | ताम्रम् | तंवं | तांबा | तांब (iron rust.) | copper. |
| Var. iv. 33., and Lassen, p. 172, n. | दुहिता, धीदा | धीआ | धिया, धी | . . | maiden / daughter. |
| Var. iv. 25 . . . | धनवान् | धणालो | धनवाला | . . | rich. |
| Var. i. 10., iii. 12 Mṛichh. 71 . . | प्रस्तारः, प्रस्तरः | पत्थरो, पत्थारो | पत्थर (a stone.) | पत्थर | a bed: a stone. |
| Var. i. 20., iii. 1. . | मुक्ता | मोत्ता | मोती | मोतीं | pearl. |
| Var. iii. 3. 58 Mṛichh. 93 . . | रात्रिः | रत्ती | रात | रात | night. |
| Var. ii. 32. . . . | यष्टिः | लट्ठी | लाठी | लट्ठ | staff. |
| Var. i. 15. 28., and iii. 41., Mṛichh.? | वृश्चिकः | विचुओ, विञ्चुओ | विचू, बिची | विंचू | scorpion. |
| Var. iii. 17. 19 . . | सूर्यः | सुज्जो, सूरो | सूरज | . . | the sun. |
| Var. i. 29., Lassen, 293., Vikr. 45 | प्रावृष् | पाउस | . . | पाऊस | the rainy / season. |
| Var. iii. 35. 38. Lassen, 209 . . | वाष्पः | वाप्फो, वप्फो | भाफ | . . | vapour. |
| Var. iii. 22 . . . | नर्त्तकः | णट्टओ | नट | नट | a dancer. |
| Var. iii. 24 . . . | वार्त्ता | वत्ता | बात | . . | word. |

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| Lassen, 250 Var. iii. 21 | पर्य्यङ्क | पल्लङ्क | पलंग [19] | पलंग | bed. |
| Lassen, 264 Var. iii. 1. 12 | एकस्थ | एकत्थ | इकट्ठा | . . | collected. |
| Var. iii. 12 | मस्तक | मत्थक | माथा | माथा | head. |
| Mṛichh. 18 | . . | मत्थअं | | | |
| Lassen, 272, and Var. iii. 40 | मत्स्य [20] | मच्छ | मच्छ, मच्छली | . . | fish. |
| Var. x. 10., Lassen, 379., and App. 53 | कन्या | कञ्ञा, हञ्ञा | . . | . . | girl. |
| | अहम् | अहं, हं, हगे, हञि | मैं, हम | मीं | I. |
| | वयम् | अम्हे, वअं | हम | अम्ही | we. |
| | मम | मुह, मज्झ | मुझ | माझा | mine. |
| Vikr. 81. 82 Var. vi. 25—53 Cowell, Introd. p. xxviii. [See also Mṛichh. and Vikramorvasi, &c., *passim*]. | अस्माकम् | अम्हाणं | हमारा | आम्हाला / आम्हान | of us, [us, by us, Mahr.] |
| | त्वम् त्वाम् | तुमं, तुमं | तुम | तूं | thou. |
| | तुभ्यम् | तुज्झ | तुझ | तुज | to thee. |
| | तव | तुह, तुज्झ, तुज्झह | तुझ | तुझा | thine. |

[19] This word *palang* means in Persian also, a *bed*, as well as a *tiger*.

[20] मच्छः also is, however, given in Wilson's dictionary as a Sanskrit form.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindī. | Mahrattī. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vikr. 81. 82. &c. (as above.) | यूयम् | तुम्हे, तुज्झे | तुम | तुम्ही | you. |
| | युष्माकम् | तुम्हाणं | तुम्हारा | तुम्हाला, तुम्हान | of you, [you, by you, Mahr.] |
| Mṛichh. 38 . . . | कस्य | काह | काहे | . . | whose? |
| Var. vi. 6 . . . . | कस्याः | किस्सा' | किस | . . | of what woman? |
| Cowell, Introd. xxvii | यः | जो | जो | जो | who. |
| Var. iv. 16 . . . | तस्मिन् | तहिं | . . | . . | in this. |
| Mṛichh. 93. 96 . . | यत्र, तत्र | जहिं, तहिं | जहां, तहां, तहीं | जेथें, तेथें | where, there. |
| Var. iv. 25 . . . | कियत्, यावत् | केत्तिअ, जेत्तिअ | कितना, जितना | कितिं | how much, as much. |
| Mṛichh. 74 . . . | कुत्र | कहिं | कहां | कोठें | where. |
| Mṛichh. 4. 51 . . | उत्तिष्ठ | उट्ठेहि, उत्थेहि | उठना | उठणें | to rise. |
| Var. viii. 15. 61 . . | गृह्णाति | गेण्हइ | गहना | घेणें | to take. |
| Mṛichh. 4. 27., and *passim* . . . . | पृच्छ | पुच्छ | पूछना | पुसणें | to ask. |
| Comp. Delius, p. 41 | पृष्टा | पुच्छिदा | . . . | . . | |
| Kramadisvara, in ditto, p. 10 . . . | पृष्ट्वा | पुच्छिअ | . . | . . | |

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| Mṛichh. 4. 27., &c. (as above.) | प्रच्छामि | पुच्छिस्सं | . . | . . | to ask. |
| | पृच्छति | पुच्छदि | . . | . . | |
| Var. viii. 12 . . . | म्रियते | मरई | मरना | मरणें | to die. |
| Var. viii. 18., xii. 17 Mṛichh. 66. 103. 134., and *passim* Vikr. 14 . . . | स्मरामि, स्मरसि | सुमरामि, सुमरेसि | सुमरना | . . | to remember. |
| | स्मृत्वा | सुमरित्र | | | |
| Mṛichh. 21. 24 . . | समर्पयसि | समप्पेसि | सोंपना | सोंपणें | to entrust. |
| | प्रापिता | पाविदा | . . | पावणें | to obtain. |
| Mṛichh. 14. 131 . Vikr. 57. 97. 101 . Delius, p. 62 . . . | प्राप्तः | पाविदे, पत्तो, पाविश्र | पाया | | |
| | प्राप्नोमि | पाविमि | पावता | | |
| | प्राप्स्यसि | पाविहि | पावहि | | |
| Var. iii. 3 . . . . | प्रभवति | पभवइ | . . | . . | he prevails. |
| Var. vii. 20. 21., viii. 1 Mṛichh. 105. 38. 39. 72. 163 | भवामि | होमि [21] | हूं | . . | I become. |
| | भवास | होसि | है | . . | thou becomest. |

[21] From हवामि &c, see Lassen, p. 176.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindī. | Mahratti. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Var. vii. 20. 21., &c. (as above.) | भवति | भोदि, होदि[22] | है | | |
| | | होज्ज, होज्जद | | | he becomes, &c. |
| | भवन्ति | होन्ति | हैं | | |
| Prabodha. p. 44 | अनुभवन्ति | अणुहवन्ति | | | they feel. |
| Mṛichh. 141 . . . | अनुभवितुम् | अणुभविदुं | | | to feel. |
| Mṛichh. 21. 24 . . | भविष्यति | ऊविश्शदि, ऊविस्सदि | होदहि[23] | | he will be. |
| Var. vii. 12. 13. 14. 15., and Lassen, 268 | भविष्यामि | होस्सामि,[24] होस्सं, होहामि, होहिमि | हूंगा | होईन | I will be. |
| | भविष्यामः | होस्सामो, होहामो, होहिमो, होहिस्सा, होहित्था | होंगे | होऊं | we will be. |

[22] होद Mṛichh. 38. 102.

[23] होदहि provincial for होगा.

[24] Burnouf, Lotus, 687.

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Var. vii. 20. 21 . . | भविष्यति | होज्ज, होज्जा, होज्जहिइ, होज्जाहिई | होगा | होईल | he will be. |
| | भवतु | होज्जउ, होज्जाउ | हुजिए, हुजियो | . . | let him be: be (imper.) |
| Var. vii. 23 24 . . | अभवत्, अभूत् | हुवीअ, होहीअ | भया, हुआ, हता, था | होता | he was. |
| Var. viii. 2 . . . | भूतम् | हुअं (हूअं?) | हुआ | . . | been. |
| Mṛichh. 25 . . . | ज्वालय | जालेहि | जलाना | . . | to burn. |
| Var. viii .13. Vikr. 112. Mṛichh. 16. 31 | करोमि | करोमि, कलेमि करेमि | करता | करितों : | I do. |
| Mṛichh. 132 . . . | कृतम् | कडे | करा, किया | केल, केला | done. |
| Mṛichh. 31 Vikr. 18 . . | कृतः | कुलु,[25] कओ | | | |
| Delius, pp. 27—29 . | कुर्वन् | करन्तो, कलेन्तो करेन्तो, कुव्वाणो | करता | करित | doing. |
| Delius, pp. 27—29. | निराकृत्य | णिराकरिअ | करिया (Bengalī) | . . | having undone, [done.] |
| Delius, p. 17 Mṛichh. 105 . . | ददामि | देमि | देता | . . | I give. |

[25] Delius seems to think कुलु may be the Prakrit imperative.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindī. | Mahrattī. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mṛichh. 66 . . . | ददाति | देदि | . . | . . | he gives. |
| Var. viii. 62., and Mṛichh. 95. and 37 | दत्तम् | दिण्णं | दिया, दीन | . . | given. |
| Mṛichh. 127 . . . | ददती | देन्ती | देती | . . | giving. |
| Mṛichh. 32. 163 . | मार्गयति | मग्गदि [26] मग्गेदि | मांगना | मागणें . . | to ask. |
| Mṛichh. 79. 82. 88 . | मार्गयितुम् | मग्गिदुं | . . | . . | |
| Mṛichh. 136 . . . | मार्गमाणेन | मग्गमाणेन | . . | . . | |
| Mṛichh. 95 . . . | मार्गयतः | मग्गन्तस्स | . . | . . | |
| Mṛichh. 12 . . . | कल्पयत | कप्पेध | . . | कापणें | to cut. |
| Mṛichh. 51 . . . | कल्पयित्वा | कप्पिअ | | | |
| Var. viii. 23., Mṛichh. 36, and Delius, pp. 15, 16 | ज्ञात्वा | जाणिअ | जानिया (Bengalī.) | . . | having known. |
| Var. viii. 56 Delius, p. 24 . . | शृणोमि | सुणामि | सुनना | . . | to hear. |
| Mṛichh. 37 . . . | श्रुत्वा | सुणिअ | शूनिया (Bengalī.) | | |

[26] Comp. मग्गो from मार्ग: ante, p. 21. Var. ii. 2. iii. 50.

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| Mṛichh. 104. 105 | शृणु | सुणु, सुणाहि | सुन | . . | hear. |
| Mṛichh. 45. 70 . . | धाव, धावति | धोवेहि, धोअदि | धोना | धुणें | to wash. |
| Mṛichh. 46 . . . | स्वपिमः | सुवेम्ह | सोना | . . | to sleep. |
| Mṛichh. 59. 122<br>Var. viii. 25 . | स्थापयित्वा | ठाविअ, थाविअ | थामना | थांबणें | to hold, stop. |
| Mṛichh. 97<br>Delius, 19 . . | स्थापयामि | थावेमि | . . | . . | |
| Mṛichh. 57 . . . | रक्षामि | रक्खामि | रखना | राखणें | to keep. |
| Var. viii. 47<br>Mṛichh. 70. 71<br>Delius, p. 50 . | नृत्यति, नृत्यते<br>नृत्यन् | णच्चइ, णच्चीअदि<br>णच्चन्तो | नाचना | नाचणें | to dance. |
| Mṛichh. 71 . . . | शिक्षयन्तो | सिक्खन्ता | सिखाना | . . | to teach. |
| Mṛichh. 72 . . . | उपविष्टाः | उवविट्ठा | बैठना (?) | . . | seated. |
| Cowell, App. A. p. 99 | कथयति | कहइ | कहना | कथणें | to speak. |
| Śak. 45. 34<br>Mṛichh. 4. 80 . . | कथय | कहेहि, कधेहि | . . | . . | |
| Mṛichh. 80 . . . | कथयिष्यामि | कहिस्सं | . . | . . | |
| Mṛichh. 36 . . . | कथितम् | कहिदा | कहा | . . | |
| Mṛichh. 103 . . . | कथ्यते | कहिज्जदि | . . | . . | |
| Delius, 86<br>Vikr. 2 . . | अस्ति | अत्ति, अच्छि | आछे (Bengali.) | आहे | he is. |

| References. | Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindī. | Mahrattī. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mṛichh. 99 . . . | स्थ | अच्छध | आछ (Bengalī.) | . . | ye are. |
| Lassen, 346., and Cowell, p. 184 | सन्ति | अच्छन्ति | आछेन (Bengalī.) | . . | they are. |
| Sūtra 24, in App. A., Cowell, p. 99 | वदति | वोल्लइ, वोलइ | बोलना | बोलणें | to speak. |
| Mṛichh. 105 . . . | ब्रूमः | बोल्लामो [27] | . . | . . | |
| Delius, 67 Mṛichh. 169 | लभन्ते | लहन्ति | लहते, लेते | . . | they receive. |
| Mṛichh. 115 . . . | क्षिपतु (फेल् to go) | फेलदु | फेलिते (Bengalī.) | . . | to throw. |
| Mṛichh. 112 . . . | जागृत | जग्गेथ | जागना | जागणें | to wake. |
| Var. vii. 7 . . . | गतः | गओ | गया | . . | gone. |
| Var. vii. 1., and ii. 24 | पठति | पढई | पढ़ना | पढणें | to read. |
| Mṛichh. 121, and Var. viii. 51 | पतामि | पडेमि, पडामि | पड़ना | पडणें | to fall. |
| Delius, 51 . . . . | पतितः | पडिदो | पड़ा | . . | fallen. |
| Mṛichh. 120 Delius, p. 22 | उड्डयन्ते | उड्डेन्ति, उड्डएन्ति | उड़ना | उडणें | to fly. |
| Mṛichh. 124 . . . | परिधास्ये | पहिलिश्शं | पहरना | पांघरणें | to put on (clothing). |

[27] This alteration of ब्रूमः into बोल्लामो may perhaps be conceived to have proceeded by the following steps: बरूमः, वलूमः, बोल्लामो. Or it is possible that बोल may be an indigenous non-Sanskrit form adopted into Prakrit.

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mṛichh. 71 . . . | पिवन्ति | पिअन्ति | पीना | पिएं | to drink. |
| Delius, 77 . . . | जीवामि | जीअामि | जीना | . . . | to live. |
| Mṛichh. 170 . . . | जीवन्तम् | जीअन्तं | . . | | |
| Mṛichh. 165 . . . | निष्काश्य | णिक्कालेहि | निकासना / निकालना | . . | to put out. |
| Var. viii. 44, Vikr. 11, Delius, p. 60, Kram. 10 . . | वर्द्धते, वर्द्धताम् | वड्ढदि, वड्ढदु | बढ़ना | वाढएं | to increase. |
| Vikr. 44 . . . . | त्वरयस्व | तुरवावेहि | तुरन्त (quickly.) | . . . | hasten. |
| Var. viii. 4 . . . | त्वरते | तुवरद् | . . | . . | he hastens. |
| Śak. 43. 168 . . / Vikr. 91 . . . / Delius, 79., Hemachandra, in Cowell, 173, n. | पश्यामि / (दृश्यामि?) | देक्खामि [28] | देखना | देखएं | to see. |
| | दर्शय | देक्खावहि | दिखाना | दाखविएं | to cause to see. |
| Vararuchi, viii. 48 . | युध्यते | जुज्झदे | जूझना | जुंझएं | to fight: be killed. |
| Vararuchi, viii. 48 . | बुध्यते | बुज्झदे | बूझना | बुझएं | to understand. |
| Var. viii. 25. 26 / Mṛichh. 73 . . | धै | झा, संझाअदि | समझना(?) | समजएं | to meditate, understand. |
| Kramadiswara, 28., in Delius p. 10 | क्रुध् | कुज्झ | . . | . . | to be angry. |

[28] This word occurs on the *lat* of Firoz Shah in the forms *dekhati* and *dekhiye*, and in the form *dekhāmi* in the inscription at Dhauli. See Burnouf, Lotus de la bonne Loi, pp. 666, 669, 671, 676, who supposes *dekhati* may come from an old form *drišyati*, he sees.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindī. | Mahrattī. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Var. viii. 46 . . . | रुष्यति | रूसइ | रिसियाना | . . | to be angry. |
| Var. viii. 50 . . . | मृद्नाति | मलई [29] | मलना | . | to grind, rub. |
| Var. viii. 53 . . . | स्फुट् | फुट्टइ, फुडइ | फूटना | फुटणें . | to split. |
| Mṛichh. 70. 71 / Delius, 59 . | बध्नन्ति | बज्झन्ति | बझना | . . | to be bound or caught. |
| Var. viii. 27 . . . | खाद् | खा | खाना | खाणें | to eat. |
| Delius, 29. . / Mālavika, p. 54 | पारयामि | पारेमि | पारितें (Bengalī.) | . . | to be able. |

[29] See also Kramadiswara, 39, in Delius, p. 11, where the root मृद् is said to become मण in Prakrit. In Persian also the verb *mālīdan* means *to rub*.

[N. B. — In this and the following list, it will be seen that I have generally given the Hindī and Mahrattī verbs in the infinitive, without reference to the mood or tense of the corresponding word in Prakrit. The verbs in the Sanskrit column, on the contrary, are always exact renderings of the Prakrit ones, in tense, number, person, &c.]

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It is thus clear from an examination of the Indian dramas, and of the examples furnished by the grammarians who treat of the dramatic dialects, (as illustrated in the preceding comparative table), that the words which we find in Prakrit are in great part derived from Sanskrit, but more or less modified in their forms, and that these modifications are, in numerous instances, intermediate between the original Sanskrit words, and the still more corrupted forms which we discover in the languages descended from the Prakrits, I mean, in the modern vernacular dialects.

But, while the great majority of Prakrit words can, by the application of proper methods, be traced back to a Sanskrit source, there are some others which refuse to yield to the action of even the most powerful tests which criticism can employ, and successfully assert their claim to a different origin.

Another fact then which is made clear by the examination of the dramatic poems and the Prakrit grammarians is, that the Prakrit dialects contain a certain number of words which are not Sanskrit, but which we also find in the modern vernaculars, such as the roots *ḍub*, to sink, *tharhar* (in Hindī *tharthar*), to tremble, *ḍhakk*, to cover or shut, and the nouns *goṛ*, leg, *bappa*, father, &c.[30] The greater portion of the words of this class which I have discovered, will be found in the subjoined table.

[30] See the Rev. H. Ballantines paper "On the relation of the Mahrattī to the Sanskrit," in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii. p. 369—385. Some of the words considered by Mr. Ballantine to be Mahrattī are, however, Persian or Arabic, such as mekh, baghal, manzila; others, as khāne, to eat, are Sanskrit. I add the following remarks from Dr. J. Wilson's "Notes on the Constituent Elements," &c. of the Marāthī language, (prefixed to Molesworth's Marāthī Dictionary, 2nd edition), p. xxii.

[The Marathi language] "has two distinct lingual elements, the Scythian (or Turanian), and the Sanskrit." . . . .

"The Scythian element . . . . is obviously the more ancient of the two, as far as its present locality is concerned. It is still a good deal in use, especially among the lower orders of the people, and in the business of common life. It claims almost all the words beginning with the cerebral letters, which, as initials, were probably not originally in use in the Sanskrit; almost all the words beginning with the letter *jh*; and a great majority of the words formed from imitative particles, both simple and reduplicated, which are often very expressive, and are not now of an arbitrary character, whatever they might have been before they got established in the *usus loquendi* of the people, by whom they were originally formed." . . . . . "The Sanskrit element is that which predominates in the Marāthī, as the inspection of the Dictionary at once shows." . . . . "Colebrooke expresses it as his opinion that 'nine tenths of the Hindī dialect may be traced back to the Sanskrit;' and perhaps a similar observation may be justly made as to the proportion of Sanskrit words in the Marāthī, when both primitive and modified forms are taken into the account."

## No. II.

*List of Prakrit words, chiefly from the Mṛichhakatī and the grammarians, which are not derived from Sanskrit, or are of doubtful origin, with their modern vernacular equivalents, when ascertained.*

| References. | Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindī. | Mahrattī. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mṛichh. 119 . . . | पितृसम्बन्धि | बप्प-केलके [31] | बाप - के, बाप-करके | बाप | father. |
| Mṛichh. 80. and 108 | पादम् | गोड़ं | गोड़ | . . | foot, leg. |
| Mṛichh. 72. and 112 | उदर | पोट, पोट्ट | पेट, पोटा | पोट [32] | belly. |
| Mṛichh. 35 . . . | पुंश्चली | छिणालिआ | छिनाल | छिनाल, शिंदळ | harlot. |
| Mṛichh. 151 . . . | कुलटा | काणेली | . . | . . | an unchaste woman. |
| Mṛichh. 40 . . . | स्तम्भ | खुण्ट | खोंटा | खुंटा | peg. |
| Mṛichh. 31. 36. 167 | मनुष्यः | गोहो | . . | गोहो | man. |

[31] About the affix, *Kelake* or *Kerake*, see Lassen, p. 118.

[32] In Molesworth's Mahrattī Dictionary, this word is set down as derived from the Sanskrit पेट; but the only sense assigned to this word in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary is that of *basket*.

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| Mṛichh. 123. and note, 299 . . | रसः | लखलिआ [33] | . . | लकेरी | a slight taste. |
| Mṛichh. 175 . . . | कुक्कुरः | ऊडे | . . | . . | dog. |
| Vikramor. p. 79. . | पश्य | उअ | . . | . . | look. |
| Mṛichh. 100 . . . | रचत | जोहह [34] | जोहना | . . | to watch: look out for. |
| Mṛichh. 141 . . . | प्रकम्पते | थरहरेदि | थरथराना | थरथरणें | to tremble. |
| Var. viii. 68., and Kram. in Delius, p. 11. . . . . | मज्जति | वुड्डइ, वुत्तइ, खुप्पइ | बूड़ना | बुडणें | to sink. |
| Mṛichh. 162. 317 . | मज्जन्तम् | डुब्बन्तं | डूबना | डूवणें | |
| Mṛichh. 36. 79. 164 Prab. 58 . . . . | पिधेहि | ढक्केहि [35] | ढकना | ढांकण (a lid, or cover.) | to cover or shut. |
| | पिधत्त | ढक्केध | | झांकणें (to cover.) | |
| | पिहितम् | ढक्किदे | | | |
| Mṛichh. 118. and 95 | कारयिष्यामि | घडावइस्सं [36] | घड़ना | घडणें | to fabricate. |
| | कारय | घडावेहि | | | |

[33] Stenzler, p. 299. This word may perhaps come from the Sanskrit *lakshaṇa*, a sign.

[34] In Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary the word जोङ्गटः is given as a noun, with the sense of "longing for;" which may possibly be connected with this word.

[35] Wilson gives a root धक्क, with the signification to "destroy."

[36] This may come from the Sanskrit root घट्, to act.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Prakrit. | Hindi. | Mahratti. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mṛichh. 122 . . . | कर्षामि | वड्ढामि | . . | ओढणें | to draw. (Stenz. p.298.) |
| Kramad. in Delius | निषद् | णुमज्ज [37] | . . | . . | to sit. |
| | पिव् | घोट्ट | घूंटना | घोटणें | to drink, gulp. |
| | क्षिप् | विज्ज | . . | . . | to throw. |
| Var. viii. 64 . . . | क्रुध् | जुर | . . | . . | to be angry. |
| Var. viii. 66 . . . | त्रस्यति | वज्जइ | . . | . . | to be afraid. |
| Var. viii. 28 . . . | ग्रस् | विस, घिस (?) | . . | . . | to eat. |
| Var. viii. 20 . . . | घ्रा | पा | . . | . . | to smell. |
| Var. viii. 67 . . . | मृज् | लुभ, सुप | . . | . . | to cleanse. |
| Var. viii. 69 . . . | दृश् | पुलअ | . . | . . | to see. |
| Var. viii. 70 . . . | शक् | तर, वअ, तीर | . . | . . | to be able. |

[37] Delius, p. 12, thinks that these roots may have been disused in Sanskrit. This may have been the case with some; but, is it not more likely they may have been adopted from the indigenous dialects?

[N.B.—See other non-Sanskrit roots, or roots of doubtful origin, used in Prakrit, in Vararuchi, viii. 18. 21. 23. 34. 35. 39. 40.]

It is true that, in the dramas, these non-Sanskrit words are not so numerous as might at first sight appear; that many vocables, very unlike the Sanskrit, which seem, on a hasty inspection, to be of a different origin, are discovered, on a more careful examination, to be derived from Sanskrit by successive steps proceeding according to certain recognized rules of mutation; and that the indubitably non-Sanskrit words which remain do not bear so large a proportion to those which are of Sanskrit origin, as is the case in the modern vernaculars.[38] This paucity of indigenous words in the dramas is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the fact that they are polished compositions containing many poetical passages, and were written by Pandits, men familiar with Sanskrit, who would be likely when they could, to avoid vulgar words and phrases, and to employ vocables of Sanskrit derivation, wherever it was found possible: just as we see the pedantic Pandits of our own time are in the habit of doing.[39] And there can be no doubt that in the provincial dialects, as spoken by the lower classes and by unlearned persons in general at the time when the dramas were composed, many more non-Sanskrit words would be current than we meet with in the dramas. In the same way we find in modern times several modifications of language in use among different sections of the

[38] Lassen, remarks, p. 286: "The roots of the Prakrits must be looked for in Sanskrit; and the few words which appear to be of extraneous origin can, for the most part, be traced to Sanskrit, if the investigation is pursued on right principles. At the same time I would not entirely deny that some vocables may have passed from the indigenous languages of India into the Sanskrit, as well as the Prakrit; but such words are certainly not numerous." Lassen may not underrate here the number of purely indigenous words in the Prakrits, properly so called, as they are exhibited in the dramas, but his remarks are not certainly correct if applied to the modern vernaculars, in which words not derived from Sanskrit, and which must have come down to them from the vernacular Prakrits, are very numerous.

[39] Compare the case of English like that of Dr. Samuel Johnson, full of Latin and Greek derivatives, with other compositions in which Anglo-Saxon predominates.

community in the same provinces of Hindusthan. The Hindu Pandits, for instance, use a dialect which is full of Sanskrit words; the villagers use fewer Sanskrit and more indigenous words; the lower Mahomedans use a language approaching to that of the Hindu villagers, but with more Persian and Arabic words; while educated Mahomedans introduce into their discourse a large number of Arabic and Persian phrases. But the existence of even a small proportion of such non-Sanskrit words in the dramas, when taken in conjunction with the corrupted form, — akin to that of the modern vernaculars,—in which we find Sanskrit words employed there, is quite sufficient to show that the Prakrits, such as we see them in the dramas, were, with some modifications, the spoken dialects of their day; and were consequently the precursors of the modern vernacular tongues. As we find in these latter a considerable proportion of words which cannot be traced back to Sanskrit, we are driven to conclude that these words must have existed in the older vernacular dialects, and have been transmitted from them to the later. The only alternative is that we suppose these non-Sanskrit words to have been invented in modern times, a supposition which is destitute of all probability.[40]

The question now recurs, Whence came these words which are not of Sanskrit origin in the Prakrit dialects? To answer this question I must anticipate an assertion which I hope further on to prove more in detail, viz., that there are in India very manifest traces of a variety of races of men differing widely in their origin.

[40] Even if I were to make the admission, (which, however, it is impossible to do), that the Pali and the scenic dialects were never actually spoken vernaculars, this would not neutralise my argument. For the latter must have been used on the stage, and must therefore, have been understood. They could not, however, have been intelligible, if they had not approached closely to some form of spoken language. And the existence of the Pali as well as of the Prakrits shows both the general tendency of men to break down and modify their languages, and the actual process by which they proceeded in northern India.

It appears that the ancestors of the higher classes of northern Hindus, who originally spoke Sanskrit and called themselves Aryas, must have had their origin in countries to the north or west of India, and immigrated into Hindusthan at an early period. When they arrived there, they found the country already occupied by a race of men called in the Veda, Dasyus, who spoke a different language from themselves, and with whom they became engaged in continual warfare. These Dasyus appear to have been partly driven away by the Aryas to the east and south and north, where they took refuge in the forests and mountains, and partly to have been subdued and to have become incorporated in the Arya communities as their slaves or dependants. Though these earlier inhabitants of India also, had, in all probability, immigrated into that country at some period anterior to the invasion of the Aryas, I shall for the sake of ready distinction style them the *aborigines*. These aboriginal tribes may not have been all of one race, and may have arrived in India at different times, but their history is very obscure and can only be conjectured. So much is clear, that their languages are not all alike. In the south of India we find still existing a set of spoken languages called Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalim, &c., which differ very widely from the vernacular tongues of Northern India, viz., the Mahratti, Hindi, Bengali, &c. Though the southern languages have now a certain intermixture of Sanskrit words, yet, it is clear that this intermixture is only of comparatively recent date, as they differ entirely both in structure and in the great bulk of the words of which they are composed from the Sanskrit, and all its derivative languages. The dialects of northern and central India, on the other hand, viz., the Mahratti, Hindi, Bengali, &c., are, as we have already seen, mainly derived from Sanskrit, though they contain a considerable proportion of words which are evidently of a different origin. These words of non-Sanskrit origin, which we first discover, to a certain extent, in the ancient Prakrits, and which descended from them to the northern vernaculars, must have been derived from the

language spoken by the aborigines, who had occupied the north of India before the Sanskrit-speaking race of the Aryas arrived. After these northern aborigines had been reduced to dependance by the Aryas, and both classes, Arya and non-Arya, had coalesced in one community (of which the former composed the upper, and the latter the lower ranks), the languages of both classes (which had previously been different) would begin to become assimilated and amalgamated; the Sanskrit-speaking Aryas would soon adopt many words belonging to the speech of the aborigines, while the aboriginal race would begin to borrow many words from the Sanskrit, the language of their masters. This process however, would naturally lead to a great corruption and alteration of the Sanskrit. Many of the compound sounds in Sanskrit words, such as *strī*, *rakta*, *kshatriya*, seem to have been found such as the lower orders of people could not pronounce, and these compounds became accordingly broken up or simplified, or in some way modified. Thus *strī* became *istrī*, *rakta* became *rakat*, and *kshatriya* became *khatriya* or *chhatriya*. In this manner both languages would become gradually changed, according to processes which are seen in operation in all countries. Caprice, alteration of physical circumstances, differences of education, and those varieties in the organs of speech which are peculiar to different races,—are all found to produce progressive modifications in the languages of mankind. Various forms of Prakrit would spring up by degrees in different provinces, in which Sanskrit and aboriginal words and forms would be combined, though the more cultivated element, the Sanskrit, has remained predominant. At the same time the Sanskrit language gradually ceased to be spoken in its pure form, and becoming the language of books, and of the learned class exclusively, was more and more polished and settled by grammarians; and being exempted from the ordinary causes of alteration, continued thenceforward unchanged: just as was the case with the Latin language. It seems at the same time to be very probable that many words of indigenous origin as well as words which, though of Sanskrit

origin, had been modified in the Prakrits, were incorporated in the Sanskrit; and that in this way the modern vocabulary of that language includes many words and roots which were unknown to it at an earlier period.[41]

### SECT. III.—*On the origin and vernacular use of the Scenic Dialects.*

It has been doubted, however, whether the dramatic dialects were ever spoken languages. This view is thrown out by Prof. H. H. Wilson in the introduction to his "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus," pp. lxv., lxvi.

"There is one question of some interest attaching to our construction of the Prakrit, which merits a fuller inquiry than has been yet given to it, and on which this is not the place to dilate. Does it represent a dialect that was ever spoken, or is it an artificial modification of the Sanskrit language, devised to adapt the latter to peculiar branches of literature? The latter seems to be the most likely; for there would be no difficulty in the present day in writing it, although it is no longer spoken, and highly finished specimens are to be found in plays which are modern productions. The Vidagdha Madhava, for instance, consists more than half of high Prakrit, and it was written less than three centuries ago. On the other hand, many of the modifications are to be found in the spoken dialects of Hindusthan, and the rules of Prakrit grammar account for changes which, without such aid, it is difficult to comprehend. The simplification of the grammatical construction by the disuse of the dual number, and the reduced number of verbal conjugations, looks also like the spontaneous substitution of practical to theoretic

[41] Dr. Stevenson says, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal As. Society, for January, 1859: "The Brahmans scattered through all the different provinces of Hindusthan no doubt adopted many of the words of the languages of the tribes among whom they resided, and introduced them into the sacred tongue." Professor Benfey has drawn attention to the introduction into Sanskrit of words which had become modified in the Prakrits. See Lassen, Ind. Alt. ii. 1149, note 2; and Benfey, article "Indien," (in Ersch & Gruber's Encycl.), p. 248.

perfection in actual speech, and may tempt us to think the Prakrit was once a spoken tongue. The subject is interesting, not only in a philological, but in a historical view; for the sacred dialects of the Bauddhas and the Jainas are nothing else than Prakrit, and the period and circumstances of its transfer to Ceylon and to Nepal are connected with the rise and progress of that religion which is professed by the principal nations to the north and east of Hindusthan."

If the Prakrits be merely artificial modifications of Sanskrit for dramatic purposes, my reasoning in regard to the relation of the modern vernaculars to the Prakrits would fall to the ground. Though this view appears to me to be sufficiently refuted by the proofs of the derivation of the modern vernaculars from the older Prakrits supplied by the lists of words which I have given above, I think it expedient to fortify my conclusions by the annexed extracts from Professor Lassen's Institutiones Pracriticæ, pp. 39. ff., which will, at the same time, illustrate the process by which the Prakrits were derived from Sanskrit.

"If the question regarding the origin of these dialects merely refer to the *source whence* they are derived, it admits of a very easy answer: for, as has been already stated, all the scenic dialects are drawn entirely from the Sanskrit.[42] If, however, the question means *by what process* these dialects have been drawn from the Sanskrit, it will be more difficult to answer. The difficulty does not consist in these languages containing any forms or words of which the Sanskrit archetypes are undiscoverable; for, on the contrary, both forms and words are deduced from that ancient source by undergoing certain mutations which all languages follow as they become altered and corrupted in the course of time; as, for example, has been the case with all the Germanic and Romanic dialects which have sprung from the Gothic and the Latin.

"The difficulty, however, consists in this, that these dramatic

[42] See, however, what has been said on this subject above, in pp. 39, ff.

dialects, sprung from the Sanskrit, and bearing the names of different provinces, are different from the provincial languages which have the same name and origin; *e. g.* the principal Prakrit (which appears to have been called Mahārāshṭrī) differs from the modern Maḥrattī, and the Śauraseni from the Brajbhākhā. Hence a doubt has been suggested whether the dramatic dialects were formerly the spoken tongues of the people of the several provinces, who at present use a form of speech which though cognate, is yet different; or whether these dramatic dialects are nothing more than artificial adaptations, either of Sanskrit, or of the provincial tongues to dramatic purposes. The latter opinion has appeared to Wilson the most probable, for this reason that the modern dialects of the Mahratta country, of Mathurā, and Behar, are different from those which were employed on the stage under the same names. He assigns another reason, viz. that these dramatic dialects can be composed even now. But is not the case precisely the same with the Sanskrit or the Latin? both of which can in our day be written by men who are skilled in them, though they have long ceased to be used in daily life, or to be spoken, except by a few scholars. Wilson's first reason is equally inconclusive: for to use what I may call an *argumentum ad hominem*, the learned Professor would scarcely succeed in making himself understood, if he were to address his countrymen in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. His argument would, indeed, be sound, if it could be proved that in the age when the dramatic dialects were *first* brought upon the stage, the Mahārāshṭrī or any other form of contemporaneous speech was different from the dialect introduced into the dramas under the same name. For it must be recollected that *succeeding* dramatic poets, following the example of their predecessors, did not change the dramatic varieties of speech, but retained them in their original forms; whilst, on the other hand, the popular dialects continued to undergo great alterations, as is the fate of all languages which are subjected to the wear and tear of constant use. These scenic dialects can be taught even now by grammatical tuition,

just as the Sanskrit can, though neither the one nor the other can be learned by the Indians from a nurse. All change in the scenic dialects was guarded against (just as in the case of the Sanskrit) from the period when their forms and laws had been fixed by grammarians; and, consequently, the argument drawn from the diversity of the dramatic and modern provincial dialects is of no force, unless it can be shown that the provincial dialects also have remained unchanged from the commencement to the present day. This, however, can neither be shown, nor was it possible. On the other hand, the existing condition of the provincial dialects cannot be explained unless we suppose them to have had another form, more ancient than the present, and more conformable to the Sanskrit.

"Since, then, it cannot be proved that the provincial dialects were originally different from the scenic, I shall add some arguments by which it will be made probable that the latter (the scenic) were actually current in the provinces from which they derived their names. And first, I shall make use of the names themselves as an argument: for the names Mahārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, would be absurd if they were not referred to *provincial* dialects; seeing that the names cannot be deduced from any orders of men so called, nor from any peculiarities in those dialects. The same may be said of the Māgadhī, for though I am aware that the word Māgadha denotes an order of bards, still the Māgadhī dialect is employed on the stage by other classes of men, and the bards themselves derive their appellation from the province which gave its name to the dialect.

"In the next place, I argue that the nature of dramatic poetry renders it scarcely credible that dramas composed in a language different from that of common life should have been exhibited on the stage. This, however, is a different matter from the supposition that the dramatic dialects have subsequently ceased to be spoken, and have become obsolete, while yet they maintained their place on the stage. The same thing holds good

of the employment of Sanskrit itself in dramas written in a comparatively modern period.

"If these considerations be duly weighed, it appears to follow that the use of different dialects on the stage was the result of a peculiar condition of Indian life, at the time when the laws of dramatic art were first fixed by the Indian poets.

"To these arguments it must be added that there is so close an affinity between the primary dramatic dialect and the Pali, as to leave scarcely any doubt of their being originally identical. So much is undoubted that the sacred language of the Jains is not different from the primary Prakrit. This language would certainly not have been adopted by the adherents of a sect which is strongly opposed to the Brahmans and their opinions, if the dramatic dialect had had no other foundation than the fertile and subtle genius of the Brahmans. The Jains could, however, have no difficulty in appropriating it to their own uses, if it was the language of daily life. How it happened that the Mahārāshṭrī dialect in particular came to be selected both by the dramatic poets, and by the Jains, is a point to be explained from the history of the Indian stage, and of the Buddhist religion, out of which the sect of the Jains sprang. To attempt this here would be out of place.

"The primary argument, however, is to be drawn from the structure of the languages themselves. This structure is the same, as regards principles and general rules, in all the provincial languages of Sanskrit origin, while it is different (though very similar), if the individual forms and the elements of these be regarded. I shall therefore do sufficient justice to the plan I have in view, if I examine more minutely some of these languages, and show what their grammatical character is. In doing so, however, I am prevented by the limits of my book from exhibiting their entire grammar, nor would it better serve the end I have in view if I were to do so. I propose, therefore, to inquire into the scheme of declensions peculiar to these lan-

guages, which follows the same analogy as the laws of conjugation. I pass over the permutations of sounds, which are too various to be treated here; nor, if I did treat them, would it conduce to my object, which is so to describe the structure of the provincial dialects as to exhibit the differences between them and the dramatic languages. For the changes in their elements undergone by the Sanskrit words which have been received into the modern dialects, follow two very different laws, which, if not carefully distinguished, might be used to demonstrate contrary conclusions. One sort of mutation prevails in those words which had been received into the provincial dialects which were anciently formed, or rather corrupted, from the Sanskrit; such as the Brajbhākhā *pōthī*, a book, which in Prakrit is *pōthaö*, and in Sanskrit *pustaka*, and numerous others; which would lead us to conclude that the same changes in the elements of words have taken place in the modern vernaculars as in the dramatic dialects; and that the forms of words in the former are derived from, and find their explanation in, the latter. This I by no means deny. But there is another kind of words to be found in the modern dialects, which come nearer to the original Sanskrit words than do the forms used in the dramatic Prakrits. The following are some examples from the Brajbhākhā, Panjābī, Mahrattī, and Bengālī:

| | Brajbhākhā. | Panjabī. | Mahrattī. | Bengalī. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | पुत्र,[43] पुत्री | प्रकास | कर्त्ता, प्रथ्वी | दीप, पृथिवी |
| Prakrit | पुत्त, पुत्ती | पकास | कत्ता, पुहवी | दीव, पुहवी |
| Sanskrit | पुत्र, पुत्री | प्रकाश | कर्त्ता, पृथिवी | दीप, पृथिवी |

"To these might be added numerous other instances. And if such words alone were regarded, it would not be absurd to conclude that the modern dialects retain a greater number of Sanskrit words in their genuine form than the Prakrits do. But

[43] *Put*, पुत, *son* is, however, also used in this dialect, as in the phrase *bāp put, father and son.*

this would be an unsound conclusion; for the modern vernaculars, especially when spoken by men who are learned in Sanskrit, and as they are seen in books written by such persons (from which the manuals, grammars, and lexicons of such dialects which we use, have been derived), are continually recurring to their sacred and ancient source (the Sanskrit), not only when they want words expressive of recondite ideas, and required for elegance of diction, but also when the vernacular form of the word is more corrupt than learned men would wish to introduce into their writings. Hence *it* happens that twofold forms of the same Sanskrit words are found in the same provincial language, one more Sanskrit, the other Prakrit; for the parent Sanskrit has never ceased to exercise an influence on the vernacular dialects of India, just as the Latin does on the Romanic tongues; while on the other hand the Sanskrit has exercised no influence on the forms of the dramatic dialects from the period when the dramatic poets, and the grammarians following their guidance, had assigned to these dialects certain fixed forms. It has hence resulted that these dramatic dialects have undergone no change whatever, and are just the same in dramas composed within the last three centuries as in the far more ancient Mṛichhakaṭī. For the language of the stage is continually borrowing Sanskrit words, but alters and inflects them according to rules peculiar to itself; the vernacular dialects, on the other hand, continue similarly to borrow words from the Sanskrit, but leave them unaltered[44], while those words which they had long ago adopted had been altered according to natural laws common to them with the Prakrits. In this way the occurrence of pure Sanskrit words in the vernaculars, such as *e. g., tikshṇa, tiraskṛita,* in the Bengalī, is to be explained."—Pp. 39—45.

[44] It is also to be observed, that many of the Sanskrit words which have been borrowed and modified in the Pali and Prakrit are, in the modern dialects, replaced, as far as the common people are concerned, by words of aboriginal origin; such as *beṭā* instead of *putra* for son; while words like the latter are used chiefly by Brahmans, and other high-caste persons.

Professor Lassen then proceeds to examine the forms of declension employed in some of the modern vernaculars. He then goes on to remark as follows:—

[In the modern vernaculars] "we find the structure of the Sanskrit and Prakrit declension quite destroyed, the same inflections applied to the singular and the plural, and a new difference introduced in certain declensions between the direct and the oblique cases. This proves that the provincial declensions are of a later date than those of the dialects used in the dramas, which are derived from the Sanskrit by certain fixed rules, and involve only a few innovations. In the provincial inflections there remain, indeed, some traces, partly distinct, partly somewhat obscured, of Sanskrit and Prakrit declension; but in other points there are great innovations which reveal to us a total dissolution of the old grammatical structure, and its reconstruction by means of new instruments.

"As this state of things is perceptible in the whole grammar of the provincial dialects which owe their origin to the Sanskrit, I conclude that they are of later origin than the scenic dialects. But between the Sanskrit language and its existing daughters [the modern vernaculars], there is so great a diversity of grammatical structure as to make it certain that the pristine language cannot have sunk by one fall, so to speak, into that condition in which we find the provincial dialects. It follows of necessity that there must have been an intermediate condition between the pristine and the modern speech. This intermediate condition was no doubt very various, and approached at first more nearly to the Sanskrit, and subsequently to the provincial tongues.

"If we except the Pali, the earliest form of the Sanskrit after it began to degenerate and to alter its character is that which we find in the dramas; from which dramatic dialect, therefore, we are to suppose that the first mutation of the Sanskrit, which eventually gave rise to the modern vernaculars, was not very different. I contend that, though not identical, this earliest corruption of

Sanskrit was very similar to that which we find in the dramas. If this opinion be correct, there is nothing to prevent our believing that the scenic dialects were formerly the current speech of the different provinces. The names which these scenic dialects have received from the grammarians, and the conditions of dramatic poetry, lead us to the same conclusion.

"Here, however, I conceive I must stop, for I could not adduce detailed arguments to prove this opinion without examining the whole field both of the scenic and the provincial dialects. I think, however, that I ought distinctly to add that I should not be disposed to dissent from any one who should assert that the scenic dialects were not exactly the pure forms of speech which were contemporaneously current in the different provinces, but were a little modified so as better to harmonise with the character of the persons who were to employ them. The principal argument for this conclusion is that two forms are sometimes found to occur in the dramatic dialects, one having a closer resemblance to the provincial language, and another which is softer and, so to speak, more feminine.

"To bring this disquisition to a close: there are two families of degenerate Sanskrit extant; the first more ancient, and not much corrupted, to which class the Pali and the scenic dialects belong; the second of more recent origin, and dispersed at the present day over the [northern] provinces of India, which is more diverse from the parent language. The members of the former family are daughters of the Sanskrit; those of the latter are its granddaughters, though it is in some degree doubtful whether they are daughters of the first family or granddaughters descended from sisters. As regards the age of these two classes, it is proved by the history of the Buddhist religion and of the Indian stage that the former arose prior to the commencement of the Christian era; while it can be made out with considerable probability that the latter (*i. e.* the modern provincial vernaculars) were formed before the year 1000 of the Christian era."—Pp. 57—60.

I subjoin some further remarks on the distinction between the older Prakrits, and the modern vernaculars, from the Indische Alterthumskunde of the same author, Vol. ii. pp. 1149, 1150.

"We must draw a distinct line of demarcation between the Indian languages of the middle age, (under which denomination we may fittingly class the Pali, the languages of the dramas, and those employed in the oldest inscriptions), and the new Indian, or existing vernacular dialects. The former had not, so to speak, crossed the Rubicon, nor entirely renounced obedience to the laws of their mother-language. They conform, it is true, but little to the ancient phonetic laws, and are regulated for the most part by such as are of a later date; but their grammatical forms, though corrupted and stunted, are inherited immediately from their parent. The modern dialects of India, on the other hand, have almost entirely ceased to obey the phonetic rules of the Sanskrit. They conform in part to the phonetic laws of the Prakrit dialects, but in addition to these the modern dialects have peculiar phonetic laws of their own, and their words, when not borrowed immediately from the Sanskrit to enlarge their vocabulary, often manifest more extreme contractions, and greater deviations from the original words, than do the corresponding words in the Prakrit. The grammatical forms of the modern dialects are with rare exceptions, newly constructed; for the case-terminations are chiefly indicated by post-positions, the old personal terminations have for the most part entirely disappeared, and the tenses are marked in quite a different manner than in the Prakrit dialects, the past tenses being commonly shown by participles, with the three personal pronouns in the instrumental case. Even the lowest of the dramatic Prakrits, the Apabhranśa, has not transgressed this line of demarcation and stands much nearer to the Sanskrit than the modern vernaculars do."

SECT. IV.—*Views of the Indian Grammarians on the relation of the Prakrits to Sanskrit, and on the other elements in their composition.*

Vararuchi[45], the oldest extant grammarian who treats of the Prakrit forms of speech, and his commentator Bhāmaha (in his Manoramā), distinctly recognise their derivation, mediate or immediate, from Sanskrit. The former describes in his "Prākṛita Prakasa" four dialects of this description, viz.: 1st, Mahārāshṭrī, or Prakrit generally so called; 2nd, Paiśāchī; 3rdly, Māgadhī; and 4thly, Śauraseni. After having in the first nine chapters laid down the rules for the formation of the Prakrit, properly so called, from Sanskrit, he proceeds to the others; and at the commencement of Chapter X. he lays it down that "the root of the Paiśāchī is the Śauraseni." पैशाची। प्रकृतिः शौरसेनी॥ On which the commentator Bhāmaha remarks that Paiśachī is the language of the Piśachas.[46] The Māgadhī also is declared by Vararuchi in Chapter XI. "to be derived from the same Śauraseni." मागधी। प्रकृतिः शौरसेनी॥[47] The Śauraseni dialect itself is spoken of at the commencement of Chapter XII. as derived immediately from the Sanskrit. शौरसेनी। प्रकृतिः संस्कृतम्॥[48] At the end of the chapter on the Śauraseni, it is stated that "in other points" (which have not been specifically touched upon) "it is like the Mahārāshṭri dialect." शेषं महाराष्ट्रीवत्॥[49] From this and from some other quotations which will

[45] See on his age, Lassen, Instit. Pracr. 4. 5; Addenda, p. 65; and Indische Alterthumskunde, ii. p. 1160, where he is declared to have flourished about the middle of the first century, A.D.

[46] पिशाचानां भाषा पैशाची। अस्याः पैशाच्याः प्रकृतिः शौरसेनी॥ Cowell, p. 86, and Lassen Inst. Pracr. 7. 439.

[47] Cowell, p. 89, and Lassen, pp. 8. 391.

[48] Cowell, p. 93, and Lassen, pp. 8; and 49. of Appendix.

[49] Cowell, p. 96, and Lassen, pp. 8; and 50. of Appendix.

be found below, it is clear that the ancient Mahārāshṭrī, and the dialect called by way of eminence "the Prakrit," are the same.[50] In another work called the "Shaḍbhāshā Chandrikā," by Lakshmīdhara, it is distinctly stated that the "Prākṛita dialect had its origin in Mahārāshṭra." प्राकृतं महाराष्ट्रोद्भवम्॥[51] As the Śauraseni is said to be derived from the Sanskrit, the same must be true of the Mahārāshṭrī, or principal Prakrit, to which the Śauraseni in most points conforms. And, in fact, at the close of Vararuchi's ninth section on the former dialect we have it thus stated in the following Sutra, the 18th: "The rest is [to be learned] from the Sanskrit;" शेषः संस्कृतात्॥[52] On which the commentator remarks, "The *rest* means all that has not been already referred to. The remaining rules for affixes, compounds, *taddhitas*, genders, letters, &c., must be learned from the Sanskrit." उक्तादन्यः शेषः। प्रत्ययसमासतद्धितलिङ्गवर्णकादिविधिः शेषः संस्कृतादवगन्तव्यः॥ The derivation of Prakrit from Sanskrit is here distinctly implied, and, in fact, the same thing results from the whole series of rules for forming Prakrit words, which are nothing but explanations of the manner in which the Sanskrit forms are modified in Prakrit. The same origin is ascribed to Prakrit by Hemachandra, who says प्रकृतिः संस्कृतम्। तत्रभवं तत आगतं वा प्राकृतम्॥[53] "It has its origin in Sanskrit. Prakrit is that which springs, or comes, from Sanskrit." Of the Prakrits handled by Vararuchi we thus see that three derive their names from three provinces of India, viz., Mahārāshṭra, Magadha, and the country of the Śūrasenas, the region round Mathurā. This, as we have already

[50] That the Mahārāshṭrī of that period was not the same as the modern Mahrattī, appears, (I need scarcely say), from the character of the former, as shown in the dramatic works in which the Prakrits are employed.

[51] Lassen, p. 12.

[52] Cowell, pp. 85. and 176.

[53] Cowell, p. xvii. Lassen, p. 26.

seen above, p. 46. is considered by Lassen, and justly so, as a strong proof that they were spoken dialects.

Four kinds of Prakrit only, as we have thus seen, are mentioned by Vararuchi, the oldest authority on Prakrit Grammar, viz., Mahārāshṭrī (or the principal Prakrit), Śauraseni, Māgadhi, and Paiśāchi. Though many other dialectic varieties are referred to by later grammarians, it is not necessary for my purpose to give a detailed account of any of these.

Vararuchi devotes nine chapters, containing in all 424 aphorisms, to the Mahārāshṭrī; one chapter containing 32 aphorisms to the peculiarities of the Śauraseni; another chapter containing 17 aphorisms to the Māgadhi; and a third chapter containing 14 aphorisms to the Paiśāchi. At the end of the separate chapter on the Śauraseni, it is said that it agrees with the Mahārāshṭrī in all other points, except those which have been specially noted as peculiar to itself; and the same thing may be presumed in regard to the other two dialects.

It is clear from this mode of treatment alone, that the points in which these four dialects, and especially the Mahārāshṭrī and the Śauraseni, agree with each other, must be much more numerous than those in which they differ; and this conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the specimens of the several dialects which are extant in the dramas. Accordingly, Professor Lassen remarks, (Instit. Prac. p. 377) that "the principal dialect, and the Śauraseni, coincide in most respects." The technical distinction made between these two dialects by the grammarians is, that the one (the Śauraseni) is the language used in prose, while the Mahārāshṭrī is appropriated to verse (Lassen, p. 384.) The same author remarks of the Māgadhi, that it does not depart much further from the Sanskrit than the principal Prakrit does (p. 387); and that the Indian grammarians are wrong in deriving the Māgadhi from the Śauraseni, as the former is as directly descended from the Sanskrit as the latter; and that the two derivatives coincide with each other in most respects (p. 437.) The Paiśāchi, (a dialect employed by

barbarous hill tribes) Lassen supposes, in like manner, to have been derived *directly* from the Sanskrit, but by a process peculiar to itself (p. 447.)

In regard to these Prākrit dialects generally, Lassen remarks (p. 386) as follows: "that the Sanskritic languages of Hindusthan proper were formerly less different from each other than they now are, is to be inferred from the fact that, at that earlier period they had not departed so far from their common fountain."

The following passage, quoted by Lassen, Instit. Pracrit., p. 17., from a work called Prakritadīpikā, by Chandīdeva, seems also to show that Prakrit was a language in current use, as well as employed in the dramas:—एतदपि लोकानुसाराद् नाटकादौ महाकविप्रयोगदर्शनात् प्राकृतं महाराष्ट्रदेशीयं प्रकृष्टभाषणम्। तथा च दण्डी। महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुरिति॥ "This Prakrit of the Maharashṭra country, so called from its conformity to popular usage, and from its being employed by poets in dramas and other poems, is the most excellent form of speech. Thus Daṇḍi says 'The Prākṛit which prevails in Mahārāshṭra is considered the best.'" In the same way Rāma Tarkavagīśa, in his Prākṛitakalpataru, declares "the Mahārāshṭrī dialect to be the root of the others;" सर्वासु भाषासिह हेतुभूतां भाषां महाराष्ट्रभवां पुरस्तात्। निरूदयिष्यामि (sic. निरूपयिष्यामि?) यथोपदेशं श्रीराम-शर्माऽहमिमां प्रयत्नात्॥[54] and that "the Śaurasenī is derived from it." विरच्यते सम्प्रति शौरसेनी पूर्वैव भाषा प्रकृतिः किलास्याः॥[55] "The Māgadhī is said to be derived from these two." अथेह मागध्यनुशिष्यते - - - अस्या महाराष्ट्रकशूरसे-

[54] Prākṛitakalpataru, quoted by Lassen, p. 20.

[55] Ibid. 2nd Śākhā, 1st Stavaka.

नभाषे प्रवीणैः प्रकृती निरूक्ते॥[55] These languages, together with the Ardhamāgadhī and the Dākshiṇātya, are called *bhāshas*. The author then refers to the second class, called *vibhāshas*, the dialects called Śākārī or Chaṇḍālikā, Śābarī, Abhirikā, Drāviḍā, and Utkalī, which, he says, "though characterised by rusticity (apabhranśatā), are yet not to be ranked in the class of apabhranśas if they are employed in dramas." शक्कारकोद्भ्रविडादिवाचो ऽपभ्रंशतां यद्यपि संश्रयन्ति। स्याद् नाटकादौ यदि सम्प्रयोगो नैताखपभ्रंशतया तथैषः॥[57] On the other hand, the forms of those *vibhāshas* which are not used in the dramas are reckoned by the author among the *apabhranśa* dialects, under which name he understands the provincial languages, such as the Bengalī, Guzarātī, &c. A third class of languages is called by this author the Paiśāchī.

The Kāvyachandrikā, a work on poetry, has the following remarks on language:—

तदेव वाङ्मयं विद्यात् संस्कृतं प्राकृतं तथा। अपभ्रंशश्च मिश्रश्च तस्य भेदाश्चतुर्विधाः। संस्कृतं देवतावाणी कथिता मुनिपुङ्गवैः। तद्भवं तत्समं देशीत्यनेकं प्राकृतं विदुः॥

"In regard to language, let it be understood that there are four kinds, viz., Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhranśa, and mixed. The Munis call Sanskrit the language of the gods; and consider that there are several kinds of Prakrit, viz. (*Tadbhava*), that which is derived from, and (*Tatsama*) that which corresponds with, Sanskrit, and (*Deśi*) the provincial."[58] On this passage the scholiast remarks:

तद्भवः संस्कृतभवः। खग्गादिशब्दः। तत्समः संस्कृतप्राकृतयोः समः हिण्डीरहण्ड इत्यादिशब्दः। देशीति महाराष्ट्रीयादि। अपभ्रंशस्तु आभीरादिवाक्यम्। मिश्रकं नाटकादिकम्॥

[55] Ibid., 2nd Stavaka.

[57] Ibid., 3rd Stavaka, (Lassen, p. 21.).

[58] Kāvyachandrikā, quoted by Lassen, p. 32.

"The word *tadbhava* means *derived from Sanskrit*, like the word *khagga*, &c., for *khaḍga*. *Tatsama* means the words which are *alike in Sanskrit and Prakrit*, like *hiṇḍī*, *rahaṇḍa*, &c. *Deśi* means the Mahārāshṭri, &c. *Apabhraṅśa* is the speech of the Abhīras, &c. The mixed dialect is that of the dramas, &c."[59] On this I would remark that though the Mahārāshṭrī is generally recognised as the principal Prakrit, a Deśi element is here recognised as existing in it, or contemporaneously with it. Must not this be an indigenous, non-Sanskrit, element? To the same effect is the following passage from the Kavyādarśa of Daṇḍī:—

तदेव वाङ्मयं भूयः संस्कृतं प्राकृतं तथा। अपभ्रंशश्च मिश्रं चेत्याऊराप्तास्चतुर्विधम्। संस्कृतं नाम दैवी वागन्वाख्याता महर्षिभिः। तद्भवः तत्समो देशीत्यनेकः प्राकृतः क्रमः। महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः। सागरः सूक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मयम्। (शुक्तिरत्ननां सेतुबन्धादिजन्मनाम्?) शौरसेनी नाटी च गौडी चान्या च तादृशी। यांति प्राकृतमित्येषु व्यवहारेषु [तत्तद्देशीयव्यवहारेषु नाटकादिषु।[60]] संविधिम्। आभीरादिगिरः काव्येष्वपभ्रंश इति स्मृतिः। शास्त्रेषु संस्कृतादन्यद् अपभ्रंशतयोदितम्॥

"Writers of authority say that there are four kinds of language: Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṅśa, and mixed. Great Ṛishis denominate Sanskrit the language of the gods. There are several orders of Prākṛit, viz., (*tadbhava*) that which is derived from, and (*tatsama*) that which corresponds with, Sanskrit, and the provincial (*deśi*). The language of Mahārāshṭra is called the principal Prākṛit, and it is an ocean of pearls and gems produced in the Setubandha, &c. [This line is corrupt; and the above sense is assigned as a conjecture. The allusion appears to be a double

[59] Scholiast on the same passage, ibid.

[60] Marginal gloss quoted by Lassen.

one: first to the ancient Prakrit poem called 'Setubandha[61];' and secondly to the reef of Setubandha, a line of rocks between India and Ceylon, in the vicinity of the Ceylonese pearl fisheries.] [In dramatic poetry] the Śaurasenī, the Nāṭī, the Gauḍī, and such like dialects, follow the law of the Prakrit according to their several provincial usages. The speech of the Âbhīras, and other such tribes, when occurring in poems, is called *Apabhranśa.* In books on grammar, whatever differs from Sanskrit is called Apabhranśa."[62]

In his note to the introduction to Campbell's Telugu Grammar, p. 15., Mr. F. W. Ellis remarks as follows on the Shaḍbhāshā Chandrika of Lakshmīdhara, above referred to (p. 54:) "The work here noticed is confined to these dialects [the Mahārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśāchī, Chulikā-paiśāchī, and Apabhranśa], as they now exist in the Nāṭakas [dramas], and treats therefore only of Tatsamam and Tadbhavam terms of Sanskrit origin; it is expressly stated, however, that each possessed its proper Deśyam, or native, terms; and it is probable, as many of these dialects prevailed in countries far distant from each other, that each was connected with Deśyam words of various derivations, in conjunction with which they produced spoken languages, differing considerably from each other. This in fact is declared to be the case with respect to Paiśāchī in the following passage," [which I give in the Devanāgarī character]: पिशाचदेशनियतं पशाचीद्वितयं विदुः। पिशाचदेशास्तु वृद्धैरुक्ताः। पाण्ड्यकेकयवाह्लीकसह्यनेपालकुन्तलाः। सुधेषभोतगान्धारहैवकनोजनास्तथा। एते पैशाचदेशाः स्युस्तद्देश्यस्तद्गुणो भवेत् [*i. e.* Two kinds of Paiśāchī are recognised, which depend on the different Piśācha countries. These are declared by the ancients to be the following, Paṇḍya, Kekaya, Vāhlika, Sahya, Nepāla, Kuntala, Sudhesha [?], Bhota, Gāndhāra, Haiva [?], and Kanojana [?].

[61] See note, p. x. and note 2. p. 26 in Cowell's Prākrita-prakāśa.

[62] From the Kavyādarśa of Daṇḍī, as quoted by Lassen, pp. 32 — 33.

These are the Paiśācha countries; and the native of each country has his own particular qualities.] "The two Paiśāchī dialects are said to prevail in all the countries here mentioned, commencing with Pāṇḍyam at the southern extremity of India, and extending to Canoj (Canojana) in the north, . . . . and it is added, *These are the Paiśāchī countries, and the Deśyam terms of each have their own particular quality.*" The concluding phrase is more vague in the original than Mr. Ellis has rendered it; but as *language* is the subject which the author is treating, it is to be presumed that he here alludes to the peculiar character of the different provinces in respect of their *varieties of speech.*

It is irrelevant to our present purpose to inquire particularly whether the various distinctions adopted by Vararuchi and his successors, of the mediate or immediate derivation of the Prakrits from Sanskrit, and their classifications of Prakrit, into that which is properly so-called, and Apabhranśa, and Paiśāchī, are merely arbitrary and factitious, or are founded on any rational principles. It is enough that I find the following facts, which are important to the conclusions I am seeking to establish, admitted by the native authorities I have just cited; viz., first, that the Prakrits are derived from Sanskrit as their source; secondly, that they are composed of a threefold element: *Tatsamam*, pure Sanskrit; *Tadbhavam*, derived from Sanskrit; and *Deśi* local. As this third element, *Deśi*, is distinguished both from pure Sanskrit and from words derived from Sanskrit but altered, it must follow, thirdly, that it denotes words which were regarded as having an origin different from Sanskrit. Such, at least, is indubitably the sense in which the word *Deśi* is used by Telugu writers.[63] This confirms, by the authority of the Indian gram-

[63] See Campbell's Telugu Grammar (3d edit., Madras, 1849.) p. 37, where it is said: — "The words of the Teloogoo language . . . . . are classed by Sanskrit grammarians under four distinct heads. 1st. *Déshyumoo*, or, as it is more emphatically termed, *Utsu Déshyumoo*, the *pure* language of the land; 2nd. *Tutsumumoo*, Sanskrit words assuming Teloogoo termina-

marians, what I have already asserted above, (p. 41.) to be established on other grounds, viz., that languages exist in India which have an origin independent of Sanskrit.

To give a complete idea of the artificial manner in which the Indian critics classify the different Prakrit dialects, and of the different classes of people to whom they conceive the dramatic writers ought to assign them, I quote a long passage from the Sāhitya Darpaṇa:—

पुरुषाणामनीचानां संस्कृतं संस्कृतात्मनाम्। शौरसेनी प्रयोक्तव्या तादृशीनाञ्च योषिताम्। आसामेव तु गाथासु माहाराष्ट्रीं प्रयोजयेत्। अत्योक्ता मागधी भाषा राजान्तःपुरचारिणाम्। चेटानां राजपुत्राणां श्रेष्ठिनां चार्द्धमागधी। प्राच्या विदूषकादीनां धूर्त्तानां स्यादवन्तिका। योधनागरिकादीनां दाक्षिणात्या हि दीयताम्। शकाराणां शकादीनां शाकारीं सम्प्रयोजयेत्। वाह्लीकभाषा दिव्यानां द्राविडी द्रविडादिषु। आभीरेषु तथाऽभीरी चाण्डाली पुक्कसादिषु। आभीरी शाबरी चापि काष्ठपत्रोपजीविषु। तथैवाङ्गारकारादौ पैशाची स्यात् पिशाचवाक्। चेटीनामप्यनीचानामपि स्यात् शौरसेनिका। बालानां षण्ढकानाञ्च नीचगृहविचारिणाम्। उन्मत्तानामातुराणां मैव स्यात् संस्कृतं क्वचित्। ऐश्वर्य्येण प्रमत्तस्य दारिद्र्योपस्कृतस्य च। भिक्षुबन्धनरादीनां प्राकृतं सम्प्रयोजयेत्।

tions; 3rd. *Tudbhavumoo*, Teloogoo corruptions of Sanskrit words, formed by the substitution, the elision, or addition of letters; 4th. *Grāmyumoo*, provincial terms, or words peculiar to the vulgar. To these we may also add *Unyu Dēshyumoo*, or words from other countries, sometimes given as a subdivision of the first class, and comprising, according to the definition of ancient writers, words adopted from the dialects current in the Canarese, Mahratta, Guzerat, and Dravida provinces only, but now also including several of Persian, Hindoostanee, and English origin."

संस्कृतं सम्प्रयोक्तव्यं लिङ्गिनीषूत्तमासु च। देवीमन्त्रिसुतावेश्या-
स्वपि कैश्चित् तथोदितम्। यद्देशं नीचपात्रन्तु तद्देशं तस्य
भाषितम्। कार्य्यतश्चोत्तमादीनां कार्य्यो भाषाविपर्य्ययः। यो-
षित्सखीबालवेश्याकितवाप्सरसां तथा। वैदग्ध्यार्थं प्रदातव्यं संस्कृतं
चान्तरान्तरा॥

"Let men of respectable rank and cultivated minds speak *Sanskrit;* and let women of the same description use *Śaurasenī*, except in the metrical parts, where they should talk *Mahārāshṭrī*. Persons living in kings' palaces should employ *Māgadhī*, and servants, kings' sons, and magistrates *Ardhamāgadhī*. The eastern dialect (which the scholiast says is Gauḍī, or Bengalī) should be spoken by buffoons; and the *Avantī* by crafty persons. Let *Dākshiṇatyā* (the language of Vidarbha, according to the scholiast) be employed by soldiers and citizens; and *Śākārī* by Śakāras, Śakas, and others. The Bāhlīka dialect is the one proper for celestial (?) personages, *Drāviḍī* for Draviḍas, &c., *Ābhīrī* for Abhīras, *Chāṇḍālī* for Pukkasas, &c., the *Ābhīrī* and *Śāvarī* for those who live by cutting wood and gathering leaves, and *Paiśāchī*, the speech of Piśāchas, for charcoal burners. *Śaurasenī* may be used also for female-servants, and women [?] of the better sort, for children, eunuchs, and low astrologers; the same, and occasionally *Sanskrit*, for madmen and sick persons. Prakrit should be employed by those who are intoxicated by authority or affected by poverty, by mendicants and prisoners, &c. Sanskrit should be assigned to the better sort of female mendicants, and also, as some say, to queens, ministers' daughters, and harlots. A dialect belonging to the country from which each character of low origin comes should be assigned to him; and the language employed even by the superior personages should vary according to their function. Sanskrit, varied by other dialects, [?] should be assigned with a

view to politeness to women, female friends, children, harlots, gamblers, and celestial nymphs."[64]

I shall conclude this section by adding the substance of what Professor Lassen says about the Prakrit dialects in the earlier portion of his work (pp. 22. 25—29.)

"The word *prākṛit* comes from *prakṛiti* (procreatrix), nature, and means '*derived*;' the several Prakrit dialects being regarded as derivatives of Sanskrit either directly or mediately. The original language from which any other springs is called its *prakriti*, or source. Thus Hemachandra says, 'Prākṛit has its origin in Sanskrit; that which is derived, or comes from the latter, is called *prākṛita*.'[65] The expressions Sanskrit and Prakrit are opposed to each other in another sense, when the former word denotes men of cultivated minds, and the latter those who are uncultivated. The term Prakrit is therefore also applied to vulgar and provincial forms of speech.

"The grammarians concur in considering Mahārāshṭrī as in the strictest sense of the word *Prākṛit*, the principal form or type of *Prakrit*. The Śauraseni and the Māgadhī approach most nearly to the Mahārāshṭri, and both derive their appellations from the names of provinces. By these three provincial designations, Mahārāshṭri, Śauraseni, and Māgadhī, the Indian grammarians appear to have understood the local varieties of language employed in those three several provinces, as well as the dramatic dialects severally so called. Vararuchi specifies only one inferior dialect, the Paiśāchī, and understands by it the form of speech employed by the lowest classes of men. This is to be distinguished from the speech of Piśachas (goblins), which, when introduced on the stage, are said to use a gibberish totally ungrammatical. The word is to be understood as figuratively used to denote the contempt in which the lowest classes were held. Hemachandra mentions a

[64] Sāhitya Darpaṇa in Bibliotheca Indica, No. 53. pp. 172. 173. (See also Lassen, Inst. Prace. pp. 35, 36.)

[65] Hemachandra, viii. 1., Lassen, p. 26; quoted above, p. 54.

variety of this dialect; the Chūlikā-paiśāchī, which denotes a form of speech lower than even the former. In fact, two varieties of Paiśāchī appear to be distinguished by the grammarians[66], both of them spoken by barbarous tribes, of which the one seems to belong to northern, the other to southern, India. Rāmā-Tarkavāgīśa also mentions two sorts of Paiśāchī, signifying by this name a rude mixture of language drawn from different idioms.

"The term *apabhraṅśa* is applied by the grammarians to those dialects which are the furthest removed from the pure Sanskrit original, and have undergone the greatest corruption. Hemachandra specifies two kinds, of which one has most affinity with the principal Prakrit, and the other with the Śaurasenī. The older writers assign this dialect to the people who dwell on the shores of the western ocean, especially the Ābhīras. Rāma Tarkavāgīśa, departing from the view of the earlier writers, ascribes the varieties of the local and provincial dialects to the *apabhraṅśa*, as their source. The same author seems also (when he uses (iii. 1.)the words *nāgādikramāt*, "according to the manner of those who speak like *Nāgas*, or serpents, &c."), to assign a mythological name to the provincial dialects in the same way as the older writers talk of certain barbarous tribes as Piśāchas. This designation appears to have proceeded from the writers on rhetoric, who assign Saṅskrit to the gods: Prakrit is then left for men; while those whom the Brahmans consider to be scarcely deserving of the name of men, Chaṇḍālas, Ābhīras, and such like, are only fit to utter the speech of goblins, or serpents.

"The Prakrit dialects employed in the dramas are rightly asserted by the grammarians to be of Sanskrit origin; for both the grammatical forms and the words, with very few exceptions, as well as the entire structure of the Prakrits, and the character of their syntax, are derived from the Sanskrit. When, however,

[66] See the passage quoted in p. 59.

the more recent grammarians assert the same of the Canarese and other South-Indian dialects, they are in error, as, although these languages contain words formed from Sanskrit according to certain rules, their grammatical forms and primary words cannot by any possibility have been drawn from that source."

The later native authority to whom Professor Lassen here refers appears to be Rāma Tarkavāgiśa, (p. 23.) I will hereafter show (when I come to refer more particularly to the South-Indian languages) that the Indian grammarians of the south claim for the Telugu, and no doubt for the Tamul, Canarese, and Malayālim, also, an origin quite independent of the Sanskrit.[67]

### SECT. V.—*The Pali; and its relations to Sanskrit and Prakrit.*

The above tabular comparison of the Prakrits with the modern vernaculars, will have abundantly shown, that the latter are derived from the former, and that both are derived in great part from the Sanskrit, the one mediately, the other more immediately. Though, however, it be sufficiently clear, both from the authority of the native grammarians and by a comparison of the Sanskrit and the Prakrits, that the latter are derived from the former, yet the Prakrits do not represent the derivative form of speech which stands nearest to the Sanskrit; and we are in a position to point out a dialect which approaches yet more closely to the latter than the Prakrits do. I mean the Pāli, or sacred language of the Buddhists; a language which is extinct in India, but in which numerous canonical books of the Bauddha religion, still extant in Burmah and Ceylon, are written.[68]

[67] See Dr. Caldwell's Comp. Grammar of the Dravidian languages, pp. 30, 31.; the Introduction to Campbell's Telugu Grammar, 3d ed., Madras, 1849, pp. xv. ff.; and the Note, in the same work, by Mr. Ellis, to Mr. Campbell's Introduction, pp. 11 — 22.

[68] If any Brahmanical reader should think of studying these pages, I hope that the connection of the Pali language with the Buddhist religion will not deprive it of all interest in his eyes, much less induce him, with the author

Though, however, this language has had the singular fate of having now disappeared from its native soil, to become a sacred language in foreign countries, it is yet nothing more than one of the ancient vernacular dialects of Northern India. Māgadhī is the appellation which the Buddhists of Ceylon themselves give to it. It is, indeed, true, as we are informed by Mr. Turnour, that 'the "Buddhists are impressed with the conviction that their sacred and classical language, the Māgadhi or Pāli, is of greater antiquity than the Sanskrit; and that it had attained also a higher state of refinement than its rival tongue had acquired. In support of this belief they adduce various arguments, which in their judgment are quite conclusive. They observe that the very word 'Pāli' signifies, original, text, regularity; and there is scarcely a Buddhist Pāli scholar in Ceylon, who, in the discussion of this question, will not quote, with an air of triumph, their favourite verse सा मागधि मूलभासा नरा येयादिकप्पिका। ब्रह्मानो चस्सुता-लापा सम्बुद्धा चापि भासरे॥ 'There is a language which is the root (of all languages); men and Brahmans at the commencement of the creation, who had never before heard or uttered a human accent, and even the supreme Buddhos, spoke it: it is Māgadhi.'[69] This verse[70] is a quotation from Kachchāyano's

of the Nyāya mālā vistara, I. 3. 4, to regard it, though of pure Sanskrit original, as polluted, like cow's milk in a dog's skin, (नहि पूतं स्याद् गोचीरं श्वदृतौ धृतम्।) by the unholy contact of these heretics.

[69] The idea entertained by the Buddhists of the superiority of the Pali to Sanskrit may also be learnt from the following passage of the commentary on the Grammar called Rūpasiddhi, describing the result of the composition of Kachchāyano's Grammar: एवं सति नानादेसभासासङ्कतादिख-लितवचनम् अनाकारं जेत्वा . . . सुखेन बुद्धवचनं उग्गण्हिस्सन्ति। "This being done, men, overcoming the confusion and incorrectness of diction, arising from the mixture of Sanskrit and other dialects of various countries, . . . . will easily acquire the doctrine of Buddho." Mahāvanso Introd. pp. xxvi. xxvii.

[70] Preserved in the grammar called Payogasiddhi. Turnour, p. xxvii.

Grammar, the oldest referred to in the Pali literature of Ceylon. The original is not extant in this island." Mr. Turnour, however, is inclined to "entertain an opinion adverse to the claims of the Buddhists on this particular point [the priority of Pāli to Sanskrit]. The general results of the researches hitherto made by Europeans, both historical and philosophical, unquestionably converge," he thinks, "to prove the greater antiquity of the Sanskrit. Even in this island," he proceeds, "all works on astronomy, medicine, and (such as they are) on chemistry and mathematics, are exclusively written in Sanskrit: while the works on Buddhism, the histories subsequent to the advent of Gōtamo Buddho, and certain philological works alone, are composed in the Pali language." (Mahāwanso, Introd. pp. xxii. xxiii.) There is no question that Mr. Turnour is right, and that the priests of Ceylon, who are no philologists, are wrong. The Pāli bears as distinct traces of derivation from Sanskrit as any of the other northern dialects. Before, however, adducing the proofs of this, I must give some account of the manner in which the Pāli was introduced into Ceylon.

The appearance of Buddha as a religious reformer in Northern Hindusthan seems to have taken place in the earlier part of the sixth century before Christ. He is said to have entered on his mission in the year 588, and to have died in 543, B.C. (Turnour, Introd. to Mahāw., p. xxix.)[71] In strong contrast to the Brahmans,

[71] The grounds for preferring the Cingalese date of Buddha's death, 543 or 544 B.C., to that of the Northern Buddhists, are set forth by Lassen, Ind. Alt. vol. ii. pp. 51—61. See especially pp. 60, 61. The historical value of the Buddhist records is, according to Mr. Turnour (Introd. p. xxviii.), assured in the following way:—"The age in which we now live is the Buddhōtpādo of Gotamo [the interval between the manifestation of one Buddho and the epoch when his religion becomes extinct.] His religion was destined to endure 5,000 years; of which 2,380 have now passed away (A.D., 1837) since his death, and 2,620 are yet to come. . . . . By this fortunate fiction, a limitation has been prescribed to the mystification in which the Buddhistical creed has involved all the historical data contained in its literature *anterior* to the advent of Gotama. . . . The mystifica-

he and his followers strove to disseminate their new doctrines in a popular shape among all classes of society, and for this purpose employed, where necessary, the current vernacular dialects of their age and country, though, at the same time, they may have used both Sanskrit and Māgadhī in the composition of their sacred works. (Lassen, Ind. Alt. ii. 492, 3; 1147, 8: Burnouf, Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 862.)[72] Three Buddhist synods were held at different periods within 300 years after Buddha's death, for the collection and arrangement of the sacred works which expounded the doctrines and discipline of his religion; for the correction of errors and abuses; and for the purpose of propagating the new faith in foreign countries. The revelations of Buddha are stated by his followers "to have been orally pronounced in Pali, and orally perpetuated for upwards of four centuries, till the close of the Buddhistical age of inspiration." They consist of the Pitakattaya [in Sanskrit Piṭakatraya], or the three pitakas, which now form the Buddhistical Scriptures, divided into the Vinaya, Abhidharma, and Sūtra pitakas. A schism having arisen after Buddha's death, the first Buddhist council was held in 543, when the authenticity of this Pali collection was established, and commentaries upon it, called Aṭṭhakatha, were promulgated. At the second council, in 443, B.C., the authority of the Pitakattaya was again vindicated, and the Aṭṭhakatha delivered on that occasion completed the history of Buddhism for the interval subsequent to the previous council. In the year 309 B.C., the third council was held in the reign of King Aśoka, who

tion of the Buddhistical data ceased a century at least prior to B.C. 588, when Prince Siddhattho attained Buddhohood, in the character of Gotamo Buddho."

[72] Benfey is of a different opinion. He says (Indien, p. 194), the Buddhist books of Nepal composed in Sanskrit are, "as we shall hereafter show to be probable, merely translations from the Buddhist sources, which were originally composed in Pali."

was a zealous promoter of Buddhism [Turnour, p. xxix.]. Various missions were consequently undertaken.[73] Mahendra, the son of King Aśoka, was sent on a mission to Ceylon, for the conversion of that island.

The following account of his proceedings is given by the native authorities, as abstracted by Professor Lassen (Ind. Alt. ii. pp. 247—253):—Mahendra arrived in Ceylon in the year 245 B.C., was hospitably received by the king of the island, and began by his preaching to convert the inhabitants to the religion of Buddha. The king himself embraced the new doctrine. Relics of Buddha were transported to the island from Northern India, and the Bodhi tree, under which Buddha had attained the most perfect knowledge, was transplanted thither from Behar, and according to the belief of the Buddhists, continues to flourish to the present time. Many miracles attended these transactions. The conversions to Buddhism continued; and many male and female devotees were consecrated to the Buddhist priesthood. Buddhism, thus introduced, has ever since remained the creed of Ceylon; and that island, the head-quarters of Southern Buddhism, and the seed-plot from which it was propagated into Burmah and other parts of Transgangetic India, is regarded in those countries as a holy land. In Ceylon there exists, as has been already mentioned, an extensive Buddhistic literature, which fills up an important blank in that of the Brahmans. This literature is, as I have stated, in Pali. At first, however, the principal sacred records of the Buddhists are said to have been handed down by oral tradition. Mr. Turnour (p. xxix.), gives the following statement on this subject from the native authorities: The Pitakattaya, together with the Aṭṭhakatha, completed to the era of the third Council, were orally promulgated in Ceylon by Mahendra, the Pitakattaya in Pali, and the Aṭṭhakatha in Cingalese, with a further Aṭṭhakatha of his own. These works were, it

[73] See Lassen, Ind. Alt. ii. pp. 79. 86. 229. ff., and 234—240.

is said, propounded orally by his inspired disciples and successors till the close of the period of inspiration, which occurred in Ceylon between 104 and 76 B.C. They were then committed to writing, the text (Pitakattaya) in Pali, (in which it had before been handed down orally), and its commentaries in Cingalese. This event is thus celebrated in the Mahāwanso, chap. 33, p. 207. पितकत्तयपालिञ्च तस्सा अट्ठकथञ्च तं। मुखपाठेन आनेसुं पुब्बे भिक्खू महामति॥ हानिं दिस्वान सत्तानं तदा भिक्खू समागता। चिरट्ठितत्थं धम्मस्स पोत्थकेसु लिखापयुं॥ "The wise Bhikkhus of earlier times had handed down orally both the text (Pali) of the three pitakas, and their atthakatha. But at that period, perceiving the injury which would otherwise be sustained by the people, the Bhikkhus assembled and caused them to be written down in books for the more lasting stability of the faith." About 500 years later, in the period between 410 and 432 A.D., Buddhaghosa transferred the Cingalese Atthakatha into Pali, as related in the 37th Chapter of the Mahāwanso. These Pali versions of the Buddhist scriptures and their commentaries are those now extant in Ceylon, and they are identically the same with the Siamese and Burmese versions.

Such are the Buddhist traditions regarding the oral transmission of their sacred books, viz., the *Scriptures* themselves in Pali, and the *commentaries*, &c., in Cingalese, and their subsequent consignment to writing. It will be seen, however, that so much of this narrative as records the oral transmission of these works, is distinctly rejected by Mr. Turnour, who says, p. lvii. "although there can be no doubt as to the belief entertained by Buddhists here, that these scriptures were perpetuated orally for 453 years before they were reduced to writing, being founded on superstitious imposture, originating perhaps in the priesthood denying to all but their own order, access to their scriptures; yet there is no reasonable ground for question-

ing the authority of the history thus obtained of the origin, recognition, and revisions of these Pali scriptures."

Regarding the introduction of Pali into Ceylon, different views have been taken. In his "Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ," Professor Lassen remarks as follows, (pp. 60, 61):—

"It is clear that the Pali is the sacred language of the Southern Buddhists, *i. e.* of those who departing, for the most part, from the shores of Kalinga, towards the south, carried with them, first of all, the doctrines of Buddhism into Ceylon, and eventually propagated them in India beyond the Ganges."

And again:—

"While the Pali is connected with the emigration of Buddhism to the south, it was itself, without doubt, produced in India. It is by no means clear whether the Buddhists, when they travelled southwards, made use of the Pali language from the first or not; but indeed, as the commencement of the emigration to Ceylon can scarcely be placed earlier than from 628—543 before Christ, the application of the Pali dialect as a vehicle for communicating the Buddhist doctrines can scarcely have taken place earlier than that period. How much more recent it may be, I leave to those who may be endeavouring to trace the history of this sect, to discover."

In his later work, however, the "Indian Antiquities," (vol. ii. pp. 488—490), Lassen proposes the following theory on the subject, which I translate, with slight abridgements:—

"The Pali language is called by the Buddhists of Ceylon Māgadhī, and it ought consequently to have had its birthplace in Magadha. This, however, cannot have been the case, as, like the majority of the dramatic dialects, it does not possess the peculiarities of the Māgadhī. The Buddhists are also wrong when they declare the Pali to be the root of the Sanskrit, and assert that Kātyāyana restored it to its original perfection by purifying it from all intermixture of Sanskrit and the provincial dialects. We shall therefore have to seek for the birthplace of the Pali elsewhere than in Magadha. We must necessarily assume

it to have been once a vernacular dialect, as it is otherwise impossible to perceive why it should have been selected as the language of the sacred writings. There is, besides, nothing in its character which is opposed to the supposition that it was once a spoken tongue. If we compare it with the language of the Western inscriptions, we find that, generally speaking, they stand both equally removed from the Sanskrit; for if the one presents some forms which are older, the other again has other forms which are more ancient.[74] The western inscriptions have, in addition to other differences, also the peculiar phonetic rule of changing *tvā* into *ptā*, (e.g. *dasayitvā* [Sanskrit *darśayitvā*] into *dasayiptā*), which is unknown to the Pali, as well as to the dramatic dialects. These discrepancies render it impossible to identify the Pali with the language of the western inscriptions. It is besides to be observed, that Buddhism had not its principal seat on the western coast, where the dialect in question was vernacular."

Thus, according to Lassen, the Pali is neither identifiable with the Māgadhī, the language of Eastern Hindusthan, nor with the dialects of Western India, as made known by the western inscriptions.

"In the absence of any other circumstance to indicate the birthplace of the Pali, (Professor Lassen proceeds,) I propose the following conjecture on the subject. I assume that Kātyāyana selected the speech of the country in which he was engaged in propagating Buddhism, *i. e.* of Malwa. Of the Prakrits employed in the dramas, the Śauraseni is the

[74] Thus the language of the inscriptions preserves the *s* before *t* and *th*, as in *asti*, in *sesthe*, and in *usthāna*; and the *r* in *sarvva*, where the Pali has *tth*, *tth*, and *vv*. The inscriptions, too, preserve the Sanskrit dative, for which the genitive is used in Pali, though the grammarians recognise the existence of the dative. In Pali the ablative in *smā*, as well as *mhā*, and the locative in *smin* as well as *mhi*, are found, though they are rarely used in composition. In the inscriptions, on the other hand, the locative has the form *mhi*, while the ablative of words in *a* is *ā*, so that the pronominal declination of this case has not yet been transferred to the noun.

one most frequently employed, and is the variety used in the prose passages. Vararuchi derives it immediately from the Sanskrit, and from it the other dramatic dialects. He must therefore have considered it as the oldest, though he (as well as his successors), regards the dialect called Mahārāshṭrī as the principal. These two dialects stand the nearest to the Pali, though it is decidedly older than they are. I conjecture, therefore, that we may regard it as the oldest form which has been preserved of the vernacular language of Western India between the Jumna river and the Vindhya range, a tract which includes Malwa. The Śauraseni would consequently present a later form of this language. From Ujjayani a knowledge of Kātyāyana's work was probably diffused over the Dekhan; and the Cingalese derived their acquaintance with the dialect of which it treated from the country of the Ḍamilas, *i.e.* the Tamilians, or the Cholas. In that country, Dīpankara, surnamed Buddhapriya, composed his new arrangement of that work, the oldest Pali grammar now extant.[75] As the canonical writings in Ceylon were not translated

[75] "The oldest version of the compilation from Kachchāyano's Grammar," says Mr. Turnour, (Introd. to Mahāw. p. xxv.), "is acknowledged to be the Rūpasiddhi. I quote three passages .... The first of these extracts [from the conclusion of the Rūpasiddhi] .... proves the work to be of very considerable antiquity, from its having been composed in the Daksina, while Buddhism prevailed there as the religion of the state." This quotation is as follows:—विक्ख्यातानन्दथेरव्हयवरगूरुनं तम्बपण्णिद्धजानं सिस्सो दीपङ्कराक्ख्यो डमिलवसुमतीदीपलद्धप्पकासो बालादिच्चादिवासद्वितयम् अधिवसन् सासनं जोतयी यो सोयं बुद्धप्पियव्हो यती इममुज्जुकं रूपसिद्धिमकासि॥ which, with the aid of Mr. Turnour's version, I translate as follows:—"The celebrated teacher Anāndo, who was a rallying point like a standard to Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon), had a disciple called Dīpankaro. The latter, who had obtained renown in the land of Ḍamila, and was the superintendent of two religious houses, called Bāladichcha, &c., illustrated the religion of Buddha. He was the devotee who bore the appellation of Buddhapiyo, and composed this perfect Rūpasiddhi."

into this sacred dialect till the beginning of the fifth century, A.D.[76], the knowledge of it appears to have been only very slowly diffused towards the south. The grammar just referred to appears to be more ancient than that translation. A more accurate conclusion regarding this portion of the history of the languages of India, will perhaps result from a complete investigation of the writings of the Southern Buddhists."

These remarks of Lassen scarcely afford sufficient grounds for denying that the Pali was introduced into Ceylon from Magadha. The peculiarities which are enumerated by Vararuchi as the characteristics of the Māgadhī, as it existed in his day, such as the substitution of *ś* (श) for *sh* (ष), and *s* (स), *y* (य) for *j* (ज), *sk* (स्क) for *ksh* (क्ष), *l* for *r*, are, after all, of no great consequence, and would perhaps be regarded by learned persons even in Magadha itself, rather as vulgar provincialisms, than essential characteristics of their language. If so, such varieties would naturally be discarded by educated men acquainted with Sanskrit, when they came to form for themselves a literary language.

The early Buddhist teachers appear to have been in the habit of travelling over the whole of the central parts of Northern India, and must have been acquainted with the languages of its different provinces. When, therefore, they set themselves to compose works which were intended for circulation in all these different regions, they would naturally adopt the most correct and approved forms of speech which were current anywhere within those limits. The case is quite different in regard to the dramatic compositions of India, which would preserve the most salient points of every provincial patois, as works of this

[76] This statement of Lassen disagrees with the account given by Mr. Turnour, on native authority (quoted above, pp. 69, 70.) that the Pitakattaya had been handed down in Pali from the first. See also the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1837, pp. 503. ff.

class derive a considerable part of their attraction from depicting, or even exaggerating local peculiarities.

I find it also difficult to concur in Lassen's opinion as to the period at which the Pali, or Māgadhī, was introduced into Ceylon. Mahendra and his followers, who were no doubt numerous, must necessarily have carried with them the language of their native country; and not only so, but must have been the bearers of numerous works written in that language. For it is not easy to receive literally the account given by the Ceylonese writers (which, as we have seen, p. 69, Mr. Turnour also rejects,) of the time at which their religious works were first committed to writing, or to suppose that the foreign propagators of Buddhism, who would at first be ignorant of Cingalese, should, at the period of their arrival, have had no records in their own language of the new religion which they were introducing, or that these records should not have been safely handed down to their successors.

M. Eugène Burnouf, in the course of a comparison which he is instituting between a paragraph extracted from a Pali book, the Dīgha Nikāya, and a parallel passage from a Nepalese Sanskrit work, makes the following observation on the language in which the former is composed, from which it will be observed, that he does not controvert the derivation of the Pali language from the dialect of Magadha:—

"It is quite possible that these two versions may have been nearly contemporaneous in India, and have been current there from the earliest period of Buddhism, before the events occurred which transported them to Ceylon. The Pali version would be popular among the inferior castes and the bulk of the people of Magadha and Oude, while the Sanskrit version was used by the Brahmans. Still, we should not be justified in supposing that we possessed in the Pali text the authentic version of this passage in its true Māgadhī form, since a comparison of the Indian inscriptions of Aśoka, and of the Pali of Ceylon, reveals to us certain differences between the forms of these two dialects,

Still, while we allow for the degree of artificial regularity which the cultivation of the Pali in Ceylon may have introduced, we must hold that the Pali version of this passage approaches very closely to the form which it must have had in Māgadhī."—(*Lotus de la Bonne Loi.* App. p. 862.).

Professor Weber, (in the course of a detailed notice of the Lotus de la Bonne Loi in his Indische Studien, iii. 176, ff.) remarks as follows on this passage:—"This last explanation [that the Pali was elaborated in Ceylon] does not appear to me satisfactory, because a language carried by a few persons along with them into a foreign country ordinarily retains its ancient character unchanged. It is further very questionable whether the cultivation (*i. e.* the *grammatical* culture?) of the Pali commenced in Ceylon, and probability speaks rather in favour of the supposition that the grammar of the language was fixed in the country which was its home." Weber proceeds to observe, that the Cingalese tradition ascribes the origin of their grammar to India; and thinks it may be doubtful whether Pali was used at all in Ceylon before the arrival there of Buddhaghosa in 420 A.D. For though a translation of the Sūtras is said to have been made into the Cingalēse sixty years earlier, (which seems to prove that the Pali was understood all along), yet it is improbable, he conceives, that, if it had been earnestly studied before Buddhaghosa, the translation of the work called Aṭṭhakatha would have been so long deferred. At any rate, he thinks the arrival of this teacher appears to have given a new impulse to the study of Pali, as is attested by the composition of the Mahāvansa in that language, fifty years later. It is clear, however, that Weber maintains the essential identity of Pali with the vernacular dialect of Magadha, in the sixth century B. C., as he explains the more archaic character of the language of the Pali books, the Aṭṭhakatha and Tripitaka, as compared with the language of the Indian inscriptions of Aśoka, by supposing that (while the popular dialect had undergone great alterations in the 300 years which intervened between

Buddha's death and the date of the inscriptions) the followers of Buddha may have made it a rule to retain, as far as possible, the dialect in which Buddha himself spoke, as the language of all the discourses which actually emanated from him, or were ascribed to him, as well as of all the narratives of which he formed the subject.

I quote two other authorities on the subject of the early introduction of Pali into Ceylon. The first is Professor Spiegel, who remarks as follows, in the Preface to the Kammavākya (a short Buddhist work edited by him, and translated into Latin): —"It appears reasonable to believe that the Pali was introduced by the Buddhists into Ceylon, and carried thence into Transgangetic India. An extensive intercourse existed between the continent of India and Ceylon from the earliest period, and the mention of this island in the Rāmāyana is well known. Six Brahmanical kings are enumerated in the Mahāvansa, who, as they lived before the age of Aśoka, must no doubt have employed another language. That this was the case is proved by the multitude of words which have been transferred *from Sanskrit, not from Pali*, into the Cingalese language, and which appear to have been introduced in consequence of that previous intercourse to which reference has been made. Thus we find in Cingalese, *karṇa*, not *kaṇṇa*, ear, *vaira*, not *vera*, enmity, the use of the visarga, which has nearly disappeared from Pali, as well as the vowels *ṛi, ṝi, ḷṛi, ḷṝi*." Spiegel proceeds:—"We find, from the Cingalese books, that the Buddhists arrived in Ceylon, bringing with them the Pali language, in the time of Devānampiyatissa, the contemporary of Aśoka, who reigned from 260—219 B.C. It is probable that the Pali was called Māgadhī in consequence of the mission of Aśoka's son Mahendra to introduce Buddhism into Ceylon. In fact, a comparison of the Pali with the language of the inscriptions which have descended to our own time, leaves no doubt that the two forms of speech are most closely connected. Both are but comparatively little removed from the Sanskrit, since in neither of them is

elision of letters practised, nor, with few exceptions, are aspirated letters commuted into *h*, as in the Prakrit."

The other authority I shall quote, is Professor Benfey, who thus writes in his article on India, (in Ersch and Gruber's German Encyclopœdia, p. 194.)

"The place exterior to India, where Buddhism became first established as a state religion (about 240 years before Christ) under the especial auspices of Aśoka, Emperor of India, was Ceylon. *It is therefore to be assumed that at that period all which was of importance on the subject of Buddhism, was brought to Ceylon in the form in which it then existed.* Besides, so close a connection existed between Ceylon and the head quarters of the Indian empire, viz., the regions lying on the Bay of Bengal (Bengal itself and the adjoining provinces), that the Ceylonese took at least a passive share in the developments of Buddhism. Hence their books appear to me to be authorities of the greatest consequence. It is further to be observed that these works are composed in Pali, which is the sacred language of the Buddhists in Ceylon, and in the countries converted to Buddhism by the Ceylonese, and which was the predominating popular dialect in central India."

I quote another passage, to a similar effect, from p. 250 of the same work; and although there, at the close, the author speaks doubtfully of the derivation of Pali from the province of Magadha, and of the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon from the shores of the Bay of Bengal, he is not to be understood as throwing any uncertainty on the connection of Pali or of Buddhism with Northern India in general.

He characterises the Pali as "the sacred language of the Buddhist writings found in Ceylon and Transgangetic India, . . . . which is shown both by internal and external indications to have been the vernacular dialect of central India, and which was diffused *along with the Buddhist religion in the countries above named*, where it soon acquired the same sacredness in the eyes of the Buddhists, which Sanskrit possessed, and

still possesses, for the Brahmans. This language," he continues, "(though distinct proof cannot yet be adduced of the assertion), is one of the very oldest of the Indian vernaculars, and was already in popular use at the period of the rise of Buddhism. It was probably the dialect of a considerable, I mean the western, portion of Bengal. It was from this point, from Banga or Kalinga, that according to the Ceylonese account, Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon: and yet again this conjecture becomes uncertain, owing to the fact that the language of Magadha, which was spoken only a little to the north of the Bay of Bengal, and which (as Aśoka's inscription in Cuttack seems to have been composed in it) appears also to have extended towards the south, varies essentially from the Pali in several particulars." Again in p. 246, Benfey speaks of "the Pali, as varying in many particulars from the language of Magadha, and approximating to the principal Prakrit or Mahārāshṭrī, dialect."

But it matters little in what particular province we suppose the Pali to have originated, whether in Magadha, or in some country further to the westward: as the fact remains in any case indubitable that it represents one of the oldest Prakritic dialects of northern India.

The Buddhist writers assert, as we have already seen, that the Pali is not derived from the Sanskrit; but that on the contrary it is the primitive language from which all others are descended. These Buddhist grammarians were no doubt led away by their prejudice in favour of the dialect which they or their predecessors had adopted as the depositary of their sacred literature; and by a prejudice against the Sanskrit, which was venerated by their rivals, the Brahmans. Even Mr. Clough says, (Pali Grammar, Advertisement, p. iii.) without determining the question, "it has long been a contested point whether the Pali or Sanskrit be the more ancient language of India;" and contents himself with the remark that, "it is certain that Pali was the popular dialect of the native country of Buddho, namely, Magadha, before the

powerful sect, founded by him, was expelled from the continent of India, an event prior to the Christian era."

The real relations of the two languages, the Pali and the Sanskrit, could not, however, escape the notice of any person who had mastered the true principles of philology; and are accordingly enunciated with distinctness, and in a masterly way, in the following passage, by MM. Burnouf and Lassen (Essai sur le Pali, pp. 138. ff.)

"The Pali is derived from the Sanskrit, according to certain rules, for the most part euphonic, which do not allow the derivative language to admit certain sounds and combinations of consonants, common in the parent tongue. These modifications apply equally to the substantive portions of the words and to their terminations and inflections. It hence results that there is no grammatical form to be found in Pali of which the origin may not be discovered in Sanskrit; and that there is no occasion to call in the influence of any foreign idiom to explain the modifications to which the Pali has subjected the Sanskrit.

"When the Pali, as a derivative from Sanskrit, is compared with other dialects having the same origin, it is found to approach far more closely than any of those others to that common source. It stands, so to speak, on the first step of the ladder of departure from Sanskrit, and is the first of the series of dialects which break up that rich and fertile language. But it appears that the Pali, which contained in itself the germs of alteration already greatly developed, was arrested in its progress all at once, and fixed in the condition in which we now find it, *i. e.* in a state of almost immediate connection with the language from which it proceeded. In fact, the greater part of the words which form the basis of the one, are found without modification in the other; those which are modified can all be traced to their Sanskrit root; in short, no words of foreign origin are to be found in Pali."

Again:—

"We shall not enter into new details regarding the manner in

which the Pali has been derived from the Sanskrit. The laws which have guided the formation of that language are the same which we find at work in other idioms in different ages and countries; these laws are general, because they are necessary. Whether we compare the languages which are derived from Latin with the Latin itself, or the later Teutonic dialects with the ancient languages of the same stock, or the modern with the ancient Greek, or the numerous popular dialects of India with the Sanskrit, we shall see the same principles developed, the same laws applied. The organic inflections of the parent languages are seen to exist in part, but in a state of evident alteration. More commonly they will be found to have disappeared, and to have been replaced, the case-terminations by particles, and the tenses by auxiliary verbs. The processes vary in different languages, but the principle is the same; it is always analytic, whether the reason of this be that a synthetic language happens all at once to become the speech of barbarians who do not understand its structure, and therefore suppress its inflections, and replace them by other signs; or whether it be that when abandoned to its natural course, and as a necessity of its cultivation, it tends to decompose and to subdivide the representative signs of ideas and relations, just as it unceasingly decomposes and subdivides the ideas and the relations themselves. The Pali appears to have undergone this last sort of alteration; it is Sanskrit, not such as it would be spoken by a strange population, to whom it would be new; but pure Sanskrit, becoming altered and modified in proportion as it becomes popular. In this manner it still preserves its declension, instead of replacing it by particles, as the modern dialects of India do. One form only, the ablative in *to* might pass for the commencement of the analytic declension; but it is already found in the parent language. A great number of Pali forms might be cited to prove that the modifications, which it has made in the Sanskrit, are of the same kind as those which the Italian, among

other tongues, has made in the Latin. Thus the assimilation of consonants, which in Italian makes *letto* from *lectus*, and *scritto* for *scriptus*, is one of the principles of Pali."

The Pali, in the precise form in which we find it in the Ceylonese books, cannot have been a vernacular language. It exhibits a variety of refinements which could not have been employed in common speech; but must have been confined to the language of composition, or introduced after the Pali had ceased to be the spoken tongue of the followers of Buddha, and had become consecrated to the service of religion and literature: just as the grammar of the Sanskrit itself became regulated by more fixed and rigid rules, after it had been removed from the deteriorating influences of vernacular use. Such peculiarities are the use of interpolated letters to obviate the inharmonious sounds which would arise from the collision of vowels. No less than nine letters, y, v, m, d, n, t, r, l, and g, are employed for this purpose, as is shown in the following examples, viz:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *y* — na | + imassa | becomes | na*y*imassa. |
| 2. *v* — ti | + angikam | „ | ti*v*angikam. |
| 3. *m* — lahu | + essati | „ | lahu*m*essati. |
| 4. *d* — atta | + attham | „ | atta*d*attham. |
| 5. *n* — ito | + āyati | „ | ito*n*āyati. |
| 6. *t* — tasmā | + iha | „ | tasmā*t*iha. |
| 7. *r* — sabbhi | + eva | „ | sabbhi*r*eva. |
| 8. *l* — cha | + abhiṇṇa | „ | cha*l*abhiṇṇa. |
| 9. *g* — puttha | + eva | „ | puttha*g*eva.[77] |

This peculiarity of attention to euphony is common to the Pali with the Sanskrit; and though the means they use are for the most part different, yet in neither case could the refinements employed in writing have been practised in the language of ordinary life. The Pali has other characteristics (borrowed from the Sanskrit) which could scarcely have been common in the vernacular dialects of Northern India, supposed to have been

[77] Clough's Pāli Grammar, p. 11.

contemporary with it; such as the use of desiderative, and nominal verbs; like *jighachchhati*, he wishes to eat; *pabbatāyati*, he resembles a mountain; *puttiyati*, he treats like a son.[78]

Fausböll observes in his introduction to the Dhammapada (p. vi.) that the antiquity of that work is proved by the character of its language, which approaches closely to the Sanskrit, even in some of its oldest forms, and differs widely from the diction of the prose Sūtras, and of the commentary of Buddhoghosa. Thus we find in the Dhammapada such forms as these, viz., the nominative of the present participle in *am*, as *gaṇayam*, *rodam* (instead of *ganayanto*, &c.); the third person plural of the present middle in *āre* as *sochare*, *upapajjare*; and the dative form of the infinitive, as *netave*, *pahātave*, which is usually found only in the Vedas, &c. It is clear from this that the Pali appears in various phases of greater or less antiquity.

Notwithstanding the introduction of various refinements into the Pali, after it became the sacred language of the Buddhist religion, there can be no doubt, as Burnouf remarks, (Lotus, App. 862.) that it substantially represents to us the language which was in vernacular use in Behar, and in all the central parts of Northern India, at the era when Buddhism was first introduced, *i. e.* in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries B.C. Such being the case, we should naturally expect to find that it bears a strong resemblance to the Prakrit dialects; which, as we have already seen (in the preceding section) were spoken in the same provinces in the first centuries of the Christian era. That such was actually the case, is put beyond a doubt by a comparison of these dialects with the Pali. I shall proceed to

[78] Some desiderative verbs and nouns must, however, have been in ordinary use in the Prakits; as we find in the modern vernaculars some words which have their origin in desideratives. Thus the Hindī *bhūkh*, hunger, must come from *bubhukkhā*, a Prakrit corruption of *bubhukshā*. The Hindī *piyās*, thirst, too, is probably derived from *pipāsā*, though it may also have been compounded of *pī* + *āśā*, a desire to drink.

prove, by some comparative lists of nouns, pronouns and verbs, first, that an extensive class of Sanskrit words undergoes precisely the same modifications in the Pali as in the Prakrit; and secondly, that in some respects the modification of Sanskrit words and forms of inflection had not proceeded so far in Pali as it afterwards did in Prakrit. From this comparison it will result that the Pali stands nearer to the Sanskrit, and represents a more ancient phase of the vernacular speech of Northern India than is exhibited in the Prakrit.

## No. III.

*Containing a List of words which are identical, or nearly so, in Pali and Prakrit.*

[The authorities for the Pali words in these Lists are the Dhammapada, a Pali work edited by Fausböll, the Pali Grammar of the Rev. B. Clough, (Ceylon, 1824,) Burnouf and Lassen's Essai sur le Pali, Spiegel's Kammavākya, and Anecdota Palica, containing the Rasavāhinī, &c., and Turnour's Mahāwanso, (Ceylon, 1837). The authorities for the Prakrit words are generally given in the previous List, No. I. pp. 14. ff.]

| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dhammapadam, 43., Clough, 15., Mrichh. 44., Var. xii. 22 . | स्त्री | इत्थि | इत्थी, इत्थिआ | a woman. |
| Clough, 39., Var. iii. 10 | दृष्टि | दिट्ठि | दिट्ठि | sight. |
| Dham. 3. 50 . . . . | वृक्षम् | रुक्खं | रुक्खं | tree. |
| Dham. 5 . . . . . | श्रेष्ठम् | सेट्ठं | सेट्ठं | best. |
| Dham. 46 . . . . . | अर्थम् | अत्थं | अत्थं | meaning. |
| Dham. 47 . . . . . | सर्व | सब्ब | सब्ब | all. |
| Dham. 1 . . . . . | पूर्वः | पुब्ब | पुब्ब | first. |
| Dham. 13 . . . . . | गृही | गिही | गिह (house.) | householder. |
| Dham. 58., Clough, 37., Var. iii. 27 . . . | अद्य | अज्ज | अज्ज | to-day |

| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham. 44., & Clough, 10 | अविद्या | अविज्जा | अविज्जा | ignorance. |
| Dham. 62 . . . . . | मध्य | मज्झ | मज्झ | middle. |
| Dham. 33 . . . . . | ध्यानम् | झानं | झानं | contemplation. |
| Burnouf and Lassen, 82 | दक्षिण | दक्खिण | दक्खिण | south. |
| Dham. 43 . . . . . | क्षण | खण | खण | moment. |
| Dham. 46 . . . . . | क्षेम | खेम | खेम | prosperity. |
| Dham. 71 . . . . . | पुष्कर | पोक्खर | पोक्खर | a pond: lotus. |
| Dham. 7. 18 . . . . | स्थले | थले | थले | dry land. |
| Dham. 43 . . . . . | कर्मकारः | कम्मारो | चम्मारो | workman: a leather cutter. |
| Dham. 41 . . . . . | तूष्णीम् | तुण्हीं | तुण्हीं | silent. |
| Dham. 46 . . . . . | पक्व | पक्क | पक्क | cooked. |
| Dham. 7. 66., Var. iii. 65., Mṛichh. 107 | लघु | लङ्घ | लङ्घ | light. |
| Dham. 62 . . . . . | पुत्रेषु | पुत्तेसु | पुत्तेसु | sons (loc. plur.) |
| Dham. 54 . . . . . | भुक्तः | भुत्तो | भुत्तो | eaten. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham. 6 . . . . . | सुप्तेषु | सुत्तेसु | सुत्तेसु | sleeping (loc. plur.) |
| Dham. 56 . . . . . | गुप्तम् | गुत्तं | गुत्तं | protected. |
| Dham. 54 . . . . . | तप्तः | तत्तो | तत्तो | burnt. |
| Dham. 50 . . . . . | स्नेहम् | सिनेहं | सिनेहं | affection. |
| Dham. 44 . . . . . | ह्री | हिरी | हिरी | shame. |
| Dham. 10 . . . . . | पुष्पम् | पुप्फं | पुप्फं | flower. |
| Dham. 55 . . . . . | हस्तम् | हत्थं | हत्थं | hand. |
| Dham. 16 . . . . . | कृष्णम् | कण्हं | कण्हं[79] | black. |
| Dham. 59 . . . . . | तृष्णा | तण्हा | तण्हा | thirst. |
| Dham. 44 . . . . . | प्राणम् | पाणं | पाणं | life. |
| Dham. 18 . . . . . | ग्रामः | गामो | गामो | village. |
| Dham. 55 . . . . . | स्थानानि | ठानानि | ठानानि | places. |
| Dham. 23 . . . . . | गर्भम् | गब्भं | गब्भं | womb. |
| Dham. 59 . . . . . | स्रोतस् | सोतं | सोतं | stream. |
| Dham. 23 . . . . . | स्वर्गम् | सग्गं | सग्गं | heaven. |

[79] कण्हो means in Prakrit the god Krishṇa, while the word takes the form of *Kasaṇo*, when it means *black*. See note 9. p. 19. above.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham. 48., Var. ii. 2 . | मार्गम् | मग्गं | मग्गं | a road. |
| Dham. 23 . . . . . | अन्तरिक्षे | अन्तलिखे | . . | atmosphere. |
| Dham. 56 . . . . . | समर्पिताः | समप्पिता | . . | entrusted. |
| Dham. 9., Var. iii. 27 . | मृत्युः | मच्चु | . . | death. |
| Dham. 52., Var. i. 27 . | स्मृतिः | सति | . . | recollection. |
| Dham. 24., Var. iii. 3 . | प्रियम् | पियं | . . | dear. |
| Dham. 40 . . . . . | सत्य | सच्च | सच्च | true. |
| Dhammap. 3. 24., Var. iii. 27 . . . . . | प्रेत्य | पेच्च | . . | after death. |
| Rasav. 27., Var. viii. 47 | नृत्य | नच्च | णच्च | dance. |
| Dham. 55. 74 . . . . | पश्चात् | पच्छा | पच्छा | after. |
| Dham. 25., Var. iii. 2 . | नग्न | नग्ग | णग्ग | naked. |
| Dham. 27., Var. iii. 11 . | अस्थि | अट्ठि | अट्ठि | a bone. |
| Dham. 28 . . . . . | मत्स्यः [80] | मच्छो | मच्छो | fish. |

[80] The form मच्छ is also given as correct Sanskrit in Wilson's Dictionary.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Dham. 50* . . . . . | वत्सः | वच्छो | वच्छो | child. |
| *Dham. 29* . . . . . | आत्मानम् | अत्तानं | अत्ताणं, अप्पाणं | self. |
| *Dham. 29.*, Var. iii. 32[81] . . . . . | अश्मयम् | अम्हमयं | . . | stony. |
| Clough, 36., Var. x. 10 | कन्या | कञ्ञा | कञ्ञा | a girl. |
| Clough, 19., Var. iv. 1 | कर्णः | कण्णो | कण्णो | ear. |
| Clough, 19., Var. iii. 3 | पर्वतः | पव्वतो | पव्वतो | mountain. |
| Clough, 19 . . . . | चन्द्रः | चन्दो | चन्दो | moon. |
| Clough, 38 . . . . | क्षमा | खमा | खमा | pardon. |
| Clough, 24 . . . . | विद्युत् | विज्जुमा | विज्जुली | lightning. |
| Clough, 27 . . . . | ग्रन्थिः | गण्ठि | गण्ठि | a knot. |
| Clough, 27 . . . . | मुष्टिः | मुट्ठि | मुट्ठि | the fist. |
| Clough, 37 . . . . | वन्ध्या | वञ्झा | वञ्झा[82] | barren woman. |
| Clough, 39., Var. iii. 1 | युक्ति | युत्ति | युत्ति | propriety. |
| Clough, 39., Var. iii. 1 | मुक्ति | मुत्ति | मुत्ति | redemption. |
| Clough, 39., Var. iii. 10 | तुष्टि | तुट्ठि | तुट्ठि | joy. |

[81] The rule here quoted strictly applies only to the mutation of श्म, and does not mention श्म.

[82] See note 12. p. 20.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Clough, 39., Var. iii. 10 | तृप्ति | तित्ति | तित्ति | fulness. |
| Clough, 39 . . . . | श्री | सिरि | सिरि | glory. |
| Burnouf and Lassen, Essai sur le Pali, pp. 85 | रात्रि | रत्ति | रत्ति | night. |
| Ditto, p. 165 . . . . | पात्रम् | पत्तम् | पत्तम् | vessel. |
| Ditto, p. 166 . . . . | वर्णः | वण्णो | वण्णो | colour. |
| Ditto, p. 166 . . . . | धर्मः | धम्मो | धम्मो | religion. |
| Ditto, p. 166 . . . . | निग्रहः | निग्गहो | णिग्गहो | control. |
| Ditto, p. 91., Mṛichh. 142 | मित्र | मित्त | मित्त | friend. |
| Burn. and Lassen, p. 166 | शिष्टः | सिट्ठो | सिट्ठो | instructed. |
| Ditto, p. 166 . . . . | उष्मा | उम्हा | उम्हा | heat. |
| Ditto, p. 166 . . . . | ज्ञातम् | ञ्ञातम् | णातम् | known. |
| Ditto, p. 99 . . . . | पुरुषः | पुरिसो | पुरिसो | man. |
| Ditto. p. 86 . . . . | अवकाशः | ओकासो | ओकासो | leisure. |
| Ditto, p. 166 . . . . | मनुष्यः | मनुस्सो | मनुस्सो | man. |

| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Burnouf and Lassen, Essai sur le Pali, p. 166 | अन्यः | अञ्ञो | अण्णो | another. |
| Ditto, p. 166 . . . . | अरण्यम् | अरञ्ञं | अरण्णं | forest. |
| Ditto, p. 166 . . . . | लक्षणम् | लक्खणं | लक्खणं | mark. |
| Ditto, p. 167 . . . . | पक्षः | पक्खो | पक्खो | wing. |
| Ditto, p. 167 . . . . | मोक्षः | मोक्खो | मोक्खो | redemption. |
| Ditto, p. 167 . . . . | कृत्यम् | किच्चं | किच्चं | duty. |
| Ditto, p. 167 . . . . | नित्यम् | निच्चं | णिच्चं | constant. |
| Rasav. 17 . . . . . | पर्य्यङ्कः | पल्लङ्को | पल्लङ्को | bed. |

## No. IV.

*The following Table of ordinals and numerals will show that in some cases the Pali and Prakrit words are identical; but that in most cases the Pali words are nearer to the Sanskrit than the corresponding Prakrit words are.*

| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dhammap. 4., Mṛichh. 68., and Lassen, 209 | प्रथमः | पठमो | पढुमो, पढमो | first. |
| Dham. 6., and Mṛichh. 69 | द्वितीयः | दुतियो | दुइओ | second. |
| Dham. 8., and Mṛichh. 69 | तृतीयः | ततियो | तइओ | third. |

| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham.35., Burnouf and Lassen, 319 . . . . | चत्वार: | चत्तारो | चत्तारो | four. |
| Dham. 11., Var. i. 9., & Mṛichh. 69 | चतुर्थ: | चतुत्थो | चउत्थो, चउट्ठो | fourth. |
| Dham. 14., & Mṛichh. 70 | पञ्चम: | पञ्चमो | पञ्चमो | fifth. |
| Burnouf and Lassen, 87., Lassen, 320., Dham. 16., and Mṛichh. 70. . . | षट्, षष्ठ: | च, छट्ठो | छा, छट्ठो | sixth. |
| Dham. 18., & Mṛichh. 71 | सप्तम: | सत्तमो | सत्तमो | seventh. |
| Dham. 21., & Mṛichh. 72 | अष्टम: | अट्ठमो | अट्ठमो | eighth. |
| Dham. 23., & Mṛichh. 100 | नवम: | नवमो | णवमो | ninth. |
| Dham. 26., & Lassen, 320 | दशम: | दसमो | दसमो | tenth. |
| Dham. 28., and Var. ii. 14 | एकादशन् | एकादस | एआरह | eleven. |
| Dham. 30., and Var. ii. 14 | द्वादशन् | द्वादस | वारह | twelve. |
| Dham. 32., and Var. ii. 14 | त्रयोदशन् | तेरस | तेरह | thirteen. |
| Dham. 76., Var. i. 9., and ii. 14 . . . | चतुर्दशन् | चतुद्दस, चुद्दस | चउद्दह | fourteen. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham. 38., & Var. iii. 44 | पञ्चदशन् | पन्नरस | पण्णरहो | fifteen. |
| Dham. 39., & Lassen, 320 | षोडशन् | सोळस | सोलह (?) | sixteen. |
| Dham. 42., & Lassen, 320 | सप्तदशन् | सत्तरस | सत्तरह (?) | seventeen. |
| Dham. 45., & Lassen, 320 | अष्टादशन् | अट्ठारस | अट्ठारह | eighteen. |
| Dham. 48 . . . . . | ऊनविंशति | एकूनवीसति | . . | nineteen. |
| Dham. 51., & Lassen, 320 | विंशति | वीसति | वीसइ | twenty. |
| Dham. 54., 76 . . . | एकविंशति | एकवीसति | . . | twenty-one. |
| Dham. 56. 76 . . . | द्वाविंशति | द्वावीसति, द्वावीस | . . | twenty-two. |
| Dham. 59. 76 . . . | त्रयोविंशति | तेवीसति, तेवीस | . . | twenty-three. |
| Dham. 64 . . . . . | चतुर्विंशति | चतुवीसति | . . | twenty-four. |
| Dham. 68 . . . . . | पञ्चविंशति | पञ्चवीसति | . . | twenty-five. |
| Dham. 75 . . . . . | षड्विंशति | छब्बीसति | . . | twenty-six. |
| Dham. 76 . . . . . | चत्वारिंशत् | चत्ताळिस | . . | forty. |

In the cases where the Prakrit words are omitted, I have been unable to supply them.

## No. V.

*The following Table exhibits a List of Pali words which either retain unaltered the Sanskrit form, or are much less corrupted than in Prakrit.*

| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham. 31. 55. 58., Clough, 21., & Var. v. 36 | राजा | राजा | राआ | king. |
| Dham. 12., and Var. i. 17 | जिह्वा | जिव्हा | जीहा | tongue. |
| Clough, 39., & Var. ii. 32 | यष्टिः | यट्ठि | लट्ठि | staff. |
| Dham. 40., Var. ii. 27., and Mṛichh. . | साधुम् | साधुं | साहुं | good. |
| Dham. 51., & Var. v. 35 | पिता | पिता | पिआ | father (nom.) |
| Dham. 52., & Var. v. 34 | पितरम् | पितरं | पिअरं | father (accus.) |
| Rasa. 15 . . . . . | पित्रा | पितरा | पिदुणा | father (instr.) |
| Dham. 26. 52. 71., and Var. iii. 8 . . . | ब्राह्मणः | ब्राह्मणो | वम्हणो | Brahman. |
| Dham. 72., & Var. i. 18 | गम्भीर | गम्भीर | गहिर | deep. |
| Dham. 20. 24., and Var. iv. 5 . . . | जीवितम् | जीवितं | जीविअं, जीअं | life. |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham. 27 . . . . . | अन्धकारेण | अन्धकारेन | अन्धआरेण | darkness. |
| Dham. 28 . . } Mṛichh. 43. 69 } . . | बलीवर्द्दः | बलिवद्दो | बलिद्दो, बद्दलो | ox. |
| Dham. 34., & Mṛichh. | कार्षापणः | कहापण | काहावणो | a certain amount of cowries. |
| Dham. 44 . . . . . | समाधिम् | समाधिं [83] | . . | meditation. |
| Dham. 46., & Var. iv. 15 | यावता | यावता | जाव, जा | as much. |
| | तावता | तावता | ताव, ता | so much. |
| Dham. 22. 68., Mṛichh. 11., Var. iv. 12 | भद्रम् | भद्रं | भद्दं | good. |
| Clough, 40 . . . . | शूकरी | सूकरी | सूअरी | a sow. |
| Clough, 7., Var. ii. 27., and v. 25. 27 . . | मधु | मधु | मज्ज : | honey. |
| Dham. 36 . } Prabodha. 58 } . . . | सुखम् | सुखं | सुहं | happiness. |
| Clough, 37., & Var. ii. 27 | सभा | सभा | सहा | an assembly. |
| Clough, 37., & Var. ii. 27 | गाथा | गाथा | गाहा | a verse. |
| Clough, 42., & Var. v. 32 | माता | माता | माआ | mother (nom.) |
| Clough, 42., & Var. v. 32 | मातरम् | मातरं | माअं | mother (accus.) |
| Rasa. 22., Clough, 45., and Var. ii. 27 . } | मुखम् | मुखं | मुहं | face. |

[83] I cannot say whether the Prakrit form of this word is समाधि, or समाहि, or some third form different from either.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kammav. p. 3., Var. ii. 2., viii. 25., Campbell's Telugu Gram., note to Introd. p. 13 | उपाध्यायः | उपज्झायो, उपज्झो | उअज्झओ ओझाओ | religious teacher. |
| Burn. & Lass. Var. ii. 2 | लोकः | लोको | लोओ | world. |
| Ditto. Var. ii. 2 . . . | गजः | गजो | गओ | elephant. |
| Ditto. Var. ii. 2 . . . | रजतम् | रजतं | रअदं | silver. |
| Ditto. Var. i. 27 . . . | कृतम् | कतं | कअं | done. |
| Ditto. Var. iii. 58 . . | त्रैलोक्यम् | तेलोक्कं | तेलोअं | the three worlds. |
| Ditto. Var. ii. 2 . . . | जीवम् | जीवं | जीअं | life. |
| Ditto. Var. ii. 2 . . . | वचनम् | वचनं | वअणं | word. |
| Ditto. Var. ii. 2. 46 . . | दिवसः | दिवसो | दिवहो, दिअहो | day. |
| Ditto. Var. i. 41 . . . | यौवनम् | योवनं | जोव्वनं | youth. |
| Mahāvanso, p. xxvi. Mṛichh. 44 | संस्कृतम् | सक्कतं | सक्कदं | Sanskrit. |
| Mahāv. 207., Var. i. 20 | पुस्तकम् | पोत्थकं | पोत्थओ | book. |
| Rasa. 40 . . . . . | भगिनि | भगिनि | वहिणि | O sister! |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mahāv. 250, Var. iii. 26 | गर्द्दभः | गद्रभो | गड्ढो | ass. |
| Rasa. 32. Var. i. 20. . | मुक्ता | मुत्ता | मोत्ता | pearl. |
| Rasa. 33 . . . . . Mrichh. 16. 43. 44. 50 | द्वारम् | दारं | दुआरअं | door. |

## No. VI.

*The following Table contains a list of Verbs and Participles, in which it will be observed that the Pali forms generally depart less from the Sanskrit than the Prakrit ones do.*

| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Burn. and Lassen, 125., and Delius, 24 . | शृणुमः | सुणोम | सुणम्ह | we hear. |
| Burn. and Lassen, 125 | शृणोषि | सुणासि | . . | thou hearest. |
| Clough. 109., Delius, 24 | शृणोति | सुणोति | शुणादि | he hears. |
| Burn. and Lassen, 125., and Del. 24 . . | शृणोतु | सुणातु | सुणादु | let him hear. |
| Burn. and Lassen, 121., Var. vii. 16. 17., Cowell, xxx., and Del. 24 . . . . | श्रोष्यामि | सोस्सामि | सोच्छं, सोच्छिस्सं, सुणिस्सं | I will hear. |
| Burn. and Lassen, 131., and Delius, 24 . | श्रुतः | सुतो | सुदो | heard. |

| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham. 15. 19., Rasa. 29., Del. 24., Var. iv. 23 | श्रुत्वा | सुत्वा, सुत्वान, सुणित्वा | सुणिअ, सोऊण | having heard. |
| Rasa. 17., Delius, 24 . | श्रोतुम् | सोतुं | सुणिदुं | to hear. |
| Burn. and Lassen, 125., and Del. 17 . . | ददामि | ददामि | देमि | I give. |
| Dham. 44., Clough, 134. 135., and Del. 17 . | ददाति | ददाति, देति | देदि | he gives. |
| Burn. and Lassen, 127. | अदात् | अदासि | . . | he gave. |
| Burn. and Lassen, 121., Var. vii. 16., & Del. 17 | दास्यामि | दस्सामि | दाहं, दइस्सं | I will give. |
| Clough, 25., and Del. 17 | ददत् | ददं, ददन्तो | देन्तो | giving. |
| Dham. 43 . . . . . | ददतः | ददतो | . . | of one giving. |
| Dham. 44., & Var. viii. 62 | दत्तम् | दिन्नं | दिण्णं | given. |
| Rasa. 34 . . . . . | भवितुम् | भवितुं | भविदुं | to be. |
| Dham. 42., Burn. and Lass. 122., & Del. 26 | भव | भव, होहि | होहि | be (thou). |
| Burn. and Lassen, 161 | भवतु | होतु | होदु | let him be. |
| Dham. 44. 67., Clough, 8. 102., Var. viii. 3 | भवति | भवति, होति | भोदि, होदि, (but पभवइ he overcomes.) | he becomes. |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham. 54. 61., Burn. and Lassen, 86 . | भवन्ति | भवन्ति, होन्ति | भोन्ति, होन्ति | they are. |
| Rasa. 22 . . . . . | प्रभवामि | पभवामि | पभवामि, पहवामि | I overcome. |
| Clough, 103 . . . . | भूयताम् | भूयतां | . . | let it be (passive.) |
| Burn. and Lassen, 130. | भवन् | होन्तो | . . | being. |
| Dham. 11. 32., Del. 26., and Var. viii. 2 | भूतः | भूतो, ऊतो | भूदो, ऊअ | been. |
| Rasa. 15., Delius, 26 . | भूत्वा | भूत्वा | भविअ | having been. |
| Clough, 15., & Var. vii. 23 | अभवत् | अभवि | ऊवीअ | he was. |
| Burn. and Lassen, 127., and Var. vii. 24 . | अभूत् | अहोसि | होहीअ | he was. |
| Burn. and Lass. 127 . | अभूवन् | अहोसुं | . . | they were. |
| Burn. and Lassen, 127. | अस्थात् | अट्ठासि | . . | he stood. |
| Burn. and Lassen, 129. | स्थातुम् | ठातुं | . . | to stand. |
| Dham. 60., Clough, 25., Burn. and Lassen, 125., and Var. vi. 63 | तिष्ठन्ति | तिट्ठन्ति | तिट्ठन्ति, चिट्ठन्ति | they stand. |
| Dham. 31., Mrichh. 80., and Var. viii. 69 | पश्यति | पस्सति | पश्शदि, देखदि, पुलअदू, &c. | he sees. |
| Dham. 6. 101. . . . | प्राप्नोति | पप्पोति, पापुणाति | पाविदि (?) | he obtains. |
| Rasa. 22 . . . . . | प्राप्नुवन्ति | पप्पोन्ति | . . | they obtain. |

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| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham. 24. 75., & Del. 62 | प्राप्तोऽसि | पत्तोऽसि, पत्तो | पाविदो, पत्तो | obtained. |
| Rasa. 15. 23. 40., Del. 62 | प्राप्य | पत्वा, पापुणित्वा | समापिअ | having obtained: finished. |
| Dham. 12., and Del. 15 | विजानाति | विजानाति | जाणादि, जाणदि, विआणादि | knows. |
| Dham. 3. 50., Burn. and Lassen, 129 . . | ज्ञात्वा | ञत्वा, जानित्वा | जाणिअ | having known. |
| Dham. 6. 11. 41., and Delius, 29 . . . | जाग्रतः | जागरतो | जग्गन्तस्स (?) | waking (genitive.) |
| Dham. 40., Del. 70., and Var. xii. 10 . | गत्वा | गन्त्वा | आगच्छिअ, गडिअ गदुअ, &c. | having gone. |
| Dham. 27. 60., Mahāv. 1., and Del. 79 | दृष्ट्वा | दिस्वा, दिस्वान, पस्सित्वा | दट्ठूण | having seen. |
| Dham. 52., and Del. 62 | हत्वा | हन्त्वा | आहणिअ, &c. | having killed. |
| Rasa. 22., Delius, 18 . | पीत्वा | पिवित्वा | पिविअ, पाऊण | having drunk. |
| Dham. 17 . . . . . | हित्वा | हित्वा | . . | having left. |
| Dham. 32 . . . . . | जित्वा | जेत्वा | . . | having conquered. |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham. 50., and Del. 55 | छित्वा | छेत्ता | परिच्छिदिअ | having cut. |
| Dham, 8.9., &Var.viii.55 | विदित्वा | विदित्वा | वेत्तूण | having known. |
| Rasa. 30., Delius, 59 . | बद्ध्वा | बन्धित्वा | वन्धिअ | having bound. |
| Dham. 47., and Del. 17 | आदाय | आदाय | दंदूअ, देदूअ, दाऊण | having taken [or given.] |
| Dham. 58., and Del. 26 | अभिभूय | अभिभुय्य | भविअ | having overcome. [or been.] |
| Dham. 58 . . . . . | प्रहाय | पहाय | . . | having left. |
| Dham. 24. 67., and Delius, 67 . . . | लभते | लभते, लभति | लहदे, लहदि | he receives. |
| Dham. 63., and Burn. and Lassen, 137 . | अस्मि | अस्मि, म्हि | म्हि | I am. |
| Dham. 51., and Del. 86 | सन्ति | सन्ति | सन्ति, अच्छन्ति | they are. |
| Dham. 60., Var. viii. 51 | पतन्ति | पतन्ति | पडन्ति | they fall. |
| Dham. 71., and Cowell, App. *Sūtra* 24 . | ब्रवीमि | ब्रूमि | बोल्लामि (?) | I speak. |
| Burn. and Lassen, 86., and Delius, 53 . | कथयिष्यामि | कथेस्सामि | कधइस्सं, कहिस्सं | I will say. |
| Dham. 36., and Del. 77 | जीवामः | जीवाम | जीआम, जीवाम | we live. |
| Clough, 142 . . . . | पृच्छन्ति | पुच्छन्ति | पुच्छन्ति | they ask. |

| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham. 43., & Var. viii. 27 | खादति | खादति | खादइ | he eats. |
| Clough, 9., & Var. vii. 25 | आसीत् | अहोसि | आसि | he was. |
| Dham. 43. 67 . . . | अस्ति | अत्थि | अत्ति, अच्छि | he is. |
| Dham. 15 . . . . . | स्यात् | सिया | . . | he may be. |
| Dham. 5 . . . . . | रक्षति | रक्खति | रक्खदि | he keeps. |
| Dham. 51. 52. 53., and Var. viii. 48 . . | बुध्यते | बुज्झति | वुज्झइ | he understands. |
| Dham. 40., and Var. | क्रुध्येत् | कुज्झेय्य | कुज्झ (root.) | let him be angry. |
| Dham. 40 . . . . . | दद्यात् | दज्झा | . . | let him give. |
| Dham. 101., Clough, 145., and Del. 32. | स्मरति | सुमरति, सरति | सुमेरदि | he recollects. |
| Dham. 13., & Var. viii. 44 | वर्द्धते | वड्ढति | वड्ढइ | he increases. |
| Dham. 64. | जयति | जिनाति | जअदि | he conquers. |
| Clough, 5. 110., Dham. 54., and Del. 27. 28 | करोमि | करोमि | करोमि, करेमि, कलेमि | I do. |
| Dham. 1. 7. 63., Clough, 110., and Del. 28. | करोति | करोति | करेदि, करेइ | he does. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham. 9., & Clough, 110 | कुरुते | कुरुते | . . | he does. |
| Clough, 110 . . . . | कुर्वन्ति | करोन्ति, कुव्वन्ति | करेन्ति | they do. |
| Burn. and Lassen, 182. | कुर्मः | करोम | करेम्ह | we do. |
| Burn. and Lassen, 127., Clough, 110., and Var. viii. 17 . . | अकार्षीत् | अकासि | काहीअ | he did. |
| Clough, 110 . . . . | अकार्षुः | अकासुं | . . | they did. |
| Delius, 28 . . . . . | करिष्यति | करिस्सति, काहति | करिस्सदि, काहिद् | he will do. |
| Var. viii. 17., and Dham. 28. 322. vi. | करिष्यसि | काहसि | . . | thou wilt do. |
| Var. vii. 16 . . . . | करिष्यामि | करिस्सामि | काहं | I will do. |
| Dham. 10. 12. 23. 39., Clough, 25., and Delius, 28 . . . | कुर्वन्, कुर्वतः, कुर्वन्तम्, कुर्वन्तः | कुव्वं, कुव्वतो, कुव्वानं, करोन्ता | करन्तो, करेन्तो | doing. |
| Dham. 42., and Del. 28 | कुरु | करोहि | करेहि, कलेहि | do (imper.) |
| Clough, 16 . . . . | अकु | अकरम्ह | . . | we have done. |
| Dham. 24., Delius, 28., Var. xii. 10., iv. 23 | कृत्वा | कत्वा | कादुअ, कदुअ, काऊण | having done. |
| Dham. 28 . . . . . | अध्यगात् (?) | अज्झगा | . . | arrived. |
| Dham. 39., and Del. 90 | प्रतिगृह्णन्ति | पतिगण्हन्ति | पडिगेण्हन्ति (?) | they receive. |

| References. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dham. 420 (commentary.) | कल्पयन् | कप्पेन्तो | कप्पेन्तो (?) | cutting. |
| Dham. 101 . . . . | शक्नोति | सक्कुणाति | . . | he can. |
| Rasa. 22., Cowell, 171. note, Del. 36 . . | शक्नोमि | सक्कोमि | सक्कणोमि | I can. |
| Clough, 129 Var. viii. 50 . . . | मृद्नाति | मद्दति | मलदि | he treads. |
| Rasa. 22., Delius, 53 . | कथयितुम् | कथेतुं | कधेदुं | to say. |
| Rasa. 22., Delius, 20 . | स्नातुम् | नहायितुं | णहादुं | to bathe. |
| Dham. 50., Vikr. 116 . | आराधयेत् | आराधये | अराहण | let him reverence: reverencing, (noun.) |

I shall add a few further details to exhibit the degrees in which the Pali and the Prakrit respectively, are removed from the Sanskrit.

The following is a comparative scheme of the declension corresponding to the Sanskrit one in *ă*, in which it will be seen that the Pali is somewhat nearer than the Prakrit to the Sanskrit forms. (Clough, p. 19.; Cowell, p. xxiv.)

| | *Singular.* | | *Plural.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pāli. | Prākrit. | Pāli. | Prākrit. |
| 1. | Buddhō. | Buddho. | Buddhā. | Buddhā. |
| 2. | Buddham. | Buddham. | Buddhe. | Buddhe.<br>Buddhā. |
| 3. | Buddhena. | Buddheṇa. | Buddhehi.<br>Buddhebhi. | Buddhehi. |
| 4. | Buddhāya.<br>Buddhassa. | Same as 6th case. | Buddhānam. | Same as 6th case. |
| 5. | Buddhasmā.<br>Buddhā.<br>Buddhamhā. | Buddhādō.<br>Buddhā.<br>Buddhāhi. | Buddhehi.<br>Buddhebhi. | Buddhāhinto.<br>Buddhāsunto. |
| 6. | Buddhassa. | Buddhassa. | Buddhānam. | Buddhāṇam. |
| 7. | Buddhasmiṇ.<br>Buddhe.<br>Buddhamhi. | Buddhe.<br>Buddhammi. | Buddhesu. | Buddhesu. |

The first personal pronoun in the two languages is as follows: (Clough, p. 61.; Cowell, p. xxviii.) In most cases the Pali is nearest to the Sanskrit:

| | *Singular.* | | *Plural.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Pāli. | Prākrit. | Pāli. | Prākrit. |
| 1. | aham. | aham. | mayam.<br>amhe. | vaam.<br>amhe. |
| 2. | mam.<br>mamam. | mam.<br>mamam. | amhākam.<br>amhe. | no.<br>amhe. |
| 3. | mayā. | me.<br>maë. | amhebhi.<br>amhehi. | amhehiṇ. |
| 4. & 6. | mama.<br>mayham.<br>amham.<br>mamam. | me.<br>mama.<br>majjh.<br>maha. | 4. & 6. amhākam. | amhāṇam. |
| 5. | mayā. | matto. | amhebhi.<br>amhehi. | amhāhinto.<br>amhāsunto. |
| 7. | mayi. | mayi.<br>mamammi. | amhesu. | amhesu. |

In the second personal pronoun, the Prakrit has the forms tujjhe, tujjhehiṇ, tujjhāṇam, tujjhesu, as well as tumhe, tumhehiṇ, &c. The first named forms are not given in Clough's grammar, as employed in Pali.

The Pali verb seems to be far more complete than the Prakrit. The following are some of its principal tenses, as compared with those of the latter: (Clough, p. 100. ff.; Cowell, p. xxix.)

| Pāli. | Prākrit. | Pāli. | Prākrit. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Parasmai-pada, or active mood. | | Ātmane-pada, or middle mood. | |
| *Sing.* | *Sing.* | *Sing.* | *Sing.* |
| 1. pachāmi. | 1. pachāmi.<br>pachami. | 1. pache. | (wanting.) |
| 2. pachasi. | 2. pachasi. | 2. pachase. | 2. pachase. |
| 3. pachati. | 3. pachadi.<br>pachai. | 3. pachate. | 3. pachade, pachae. |
| *Plur.* | *Plur.* | *Plur.* | *Plur.* |
| 1. pachāma. | 1. pachāmo.<br>pachimo, &c. | 1. pachāmhe. | (wanting.) |
| 2. pachattha. | 2. pachaha.<br>pachitthā. | 2. pachavhe. | do. |
| 3. pachanti. | 3. pachanti. | 3. pachante. | do. |

The Pali has also, like the Sanskrit, a potential mood, and three past tenses, which in the parasmai-pada or active mood, are as follows:—

| I. Potential. | | II. Reduplicated perfect. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sing.* | *Plur.* | *Sing.* | *Plur.* |
| 1. pacheyyāmī. | 1. pacheyyāma. | 1. papacha. | 1. papachimha. |
| 2. pacheyyāsi. | 2. pacheyyāttha. | 2. papache. | 2. papachittha. |
| 3. pache.<br>pacheyya. | 3. pacheyum. | 3. papacha. | 3. papachu. |

| III. Imperfect. | | IV. Third preterite. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sing.* | *Plur.* | *Sing.* | *Plur.* |
| 1. apacha. | 1. apachamhā. | 1. apachim. | 1. apachimhā. |
| 2. apacho. | 2. apachattha. | 2. apacho. | 2. apachittha. |
| 3. apachā. | 3. apachū. | 3. apachi. | 3. apachum.<br>apachiṇsu. |

In Prakrit, on the other hand, few traces appear to remain of any past tenses at all. Mr. Cowell says, p. xxix., "The only tenses of the active voice which remain, seem to be the present, the second future, and the imperative." In the 23rd, 24th, and

25th aphorisms of the VIIth Chapter, and in the 19th aphorism of the VIIIth Chapter of Vararuchi, however, (Cowell, pp. 162, 163) mention is made of a past tense, of which the instances, *huvīa, hohīa, āsi,* 'he was,' *hasīa,* 'he laughed,' *kāhīa,* 'he did,' are given. Few instances of the past tense in Prakrit, however, seem to occur in the dramas; but it is inconceivable that in the Prakrit dialects which were currently spoken in the long interval between the disuse of the Pali and the rise of the modern vernaculars (in both of which we find past tenses), there should have been no grammatical forms in daily use for expressing past time. It is not, however, necessary to pursue this subject further: as the details and explanations which I have already furnished, are amply sufficient to show the place which the Pali and the Prakrit dialects respectively occupied in the history of North-Indian speech.

[Professor Müller considers the data—derived from Buddhist sources—on which the death of Buddha is placed in 543 B.C., and on which the occurrence of any Buddhist synods before the one in Aśoka's time, is asserted, to be fictitious and unsatisfactory. Though he does not try to bring down Buddha's death below 477 B.C., he regards all the Buddhist dates before Chandragupta as merely hypothetical. See his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," received while this Section was in the press, pp. 260—300.]

SECT. VI.—*The Dialects of the Rock and Pillar Inscriptions of Aśoka.*

Our knowledge of the vernacular languages of India in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is not, however, exclusively derived from the Pali books of Ceylon. Certain inscriptions, dating from the third century B.C., containing edicts of king Priyadarsi or Aśoka[84], (whose name has been already

[84] Professor Wilson thinks it extremely uncertain whether Piyadasi can be identified with Aśoka, and inclines to the conclusion that the date of the inscriptions is some period subsequent to 205 B.C. (Journ. Roy. As. Soc., vol. xii. pp. 243—251; vol. xvi. p. 357). Professor Müller, in his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 520, speaks incidentally, but without any hesitation, of the inscriptions as being those of Aśoka, and as dating from the 3rd

mentioned above, p. 68.), and written in a corrupt Sanskrit, apparently the vernacular speech of that period, are still extant engraved on pillars and rocks in different parts of India.

I borrow the following particulars regarding them from the summary given by Lassen (Ind. Alt. ii. 215. ff.).[85] The inscriptions are engraved partly upon pillars, partly on rocks. The pillars are at Delhi, Allahabad, Mathiah, and Radhia. The inscriptions on these four pillars are partly uniform, while those of Delhi and Allahabad have additions peculiar to themselves. The rock inscriptions are, 1stly, those at Girnār in Guzerat, divided into fourteen compartments; 2ndly, those at Dhauli, in Orissa, which for the most part agree in purport with those at Girnar, though the dialect is different; and 3rdly, those at Kapur di Giri, near Peshawar, which coincide in purport, though they often differ in expression, and in their greater or less diffuseness, from the Girnar inscriptions. Besides these, Aśoka appears to have caused other similar edicts to be promulgated in the same way. Accordingly another inscription has been discovered at Bhabra, not far from Jeypur, which contains a fragment of an address to the Buddhist synod in Magadha.

These inscriptions were mostly discovered about twenty years ago, and the great merit of having first (in 1837 and 1838) decyphered and translated by far the larger portion of them belongs to the late Mr. James Prinsep. His translations were subsequently revised by Prof. H. H. Wilson, in an article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1849 (vol. xii. part i. pp. 153—251): and a portion of them were a third time examined by M. Burnouf in the Appendix to his translation of the Lotus de la Bonne Loi, pp. 652—781.[86] Prof. Wilson has

century B.C. See also the other authorities cited in the text, a little further on.

[85] See also Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by E. Thomas, i. 233, ii. 14.

[86] In an obituary notice (probably contributed by Professor Wilson) on M. Burnouf, in the Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1853 p. xiii. (published in Part I. vol. xv. of the Society's Journal), the following remarks are made on this dissertation:—"Bringing to the inquiry a know-

concluded his notice of the subject in a further paper on the Bhabra inscription, in the Journ. Royal As. Soc., vol. xvi., part ii. pp. 357—367. The importance of these inscriptions, as throwing light on the languages of India in the third century B. C., is also expressly recognised by Prof. Lassen (Ind. Alterthumsk., vol. ii.), in passages which will be quoted below; by Weber in his review of the Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Ind. Stud. iii. 166—173.), in the Preface to his Malavikā and Agnimitra, p. xxxii., and in his Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 170; and by Benfey, in his Article Indien, in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia, pp. 194 and 250.

To give the reader an idea of the nature of these edicts as well as of the language in which they are composed, I shall quote the eleventh, which is short and tolerably clear, according to the Girnar version, together with the translation of M. Burnouf. (Lotus, App. x. p. 736., Wilson, p. 212.):

देवानं पियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह नास्ति एतारिसं दानं यारिसं धम्मदानं धम्मसंस्तवो वा धम्मसंविभागो वा धम्मसंबन्धो वा। तत इदं भवति दासभतकम्हि सम्मपतिपती मातरि पितरि साधु सुसुसा मितसस्तुतञातिकानं बाह्मणसमणानं साधु दानं पाणानं अनारम्भो साधु एतं वतव्यं पिता व पुतेन व भाता व मितसस्तुतञातिकेन व आव पटिवेसियेहि इदं साधु इदं कतव्यं। सो ताथा करू इ[ह] लोक च सम्पाराधो होति परत च अनंतं पुंञं भवति तेन धम्मदानेन॥

ledge of Pali and of Buddhism, the superiority of which his predecessors would be the first to acknowledge, and having the advantage of their previous speculations, the value of which M. Burnouf, with his never-failing candour, recognises, we may look upon his researches as conclusive, and feel satisfied that they have eliminated from these remains of antiquity all the information they are capable of affording." Prof. Weber also in his review of the Lotus de la Bonne Loi, (in the Ind. Stud.) speaks in highly laudatory terms of the same dissertation.

"Piyadasi, king belonged by the gods, speaks thus: There is no gift equal to the gift of the law, or to the praise of the law, or to the distribution of the law, or to union in the law. This gift is thus exhibited: Good will to slaves and hired servants, and obedience to one's father and mother are good things: liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relations, Brahmans and Samaṇas, is a good thing: respect for the life of creatures is a good thing: this is what ought to be said by a father, by a son, by a brother, by a friend, by an acquaintance, by a relation, and even by simple neighbours: this is good; this is to be done. He who acts thus is honoured in this world; and for the world to come an infinite merit results from the gift of the law."

From the age to which these inscriptions appear to belong, we might expect that their language, as it is not pure Sanskrit, would coincide in a great degree with the Pali; which, as we have already seen, represents what we may suppose to have been the spoken language of northern India about the same period. And such proves on comparison to be to a considerable degree the case. In proof of this point I shall first proceed to quote the general observations made by Professors Wilson, Lassen, and others, on the subject of the languages in which the inscriptions are composed; and then supply a comparative table, by which an opinion may be formed of the degree in which they coincide with and diverge from, the Pali.[87]

The following are the remarks made by Professor Wilson (Journal Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xii. pp. 236. ff.) on the language of the edicts:

"The language itself is a kind of Pali, offering, for the greatest portion of the words, forms analogous to those which are modelled

[87] I might have been in a position to treat this subject in a more satisfactory manner than I can now hope to do from my own cursory investigations, had I been able to consult the Pali Grammar, with appendices on the dialects of Dhauli and Girnar, formerly advertised for publication, but never published, by Professor Spiegel. (See the cover of his Anecdota Palica, published at Leipzig, in 1845.)

by the rules of the Pali grammar still in use. There are, however, many differences, some of which arise from a closer adherence to Sanskrit, others from possible local peculiarities, indicating a yet unsettled state of the language. It is observed by Mr. Prinsep, when speaking of the Lāt inscriptions, 'The language differs from every existing written idiom, and is as it were intermediate between the Sanskrit and the Pali.' The nouns and particles in general follow the Pali structure; the verbs are more frequently nearer to the Sanskrit forms; but in neither, any more than in grammatical Pali, is there any great dissimilarity from Sanskrit. It is curious that the Kapur di Giri inscription departs less from the Sanskrit than the others, retaining some compound consonants, as *pr* in *priya*, instead of *piya*; and having the representatives of the three sibilants of the Devanagari alphabet, while the others, as in Pali, have but one sibilant[88]: on the other hand, the Kapur di Giri inscription omits the vowels to a much greater extent, and rarely distinguishes between the long and short vowels, peculiarities perhaps not unconnected with the Semitic character of its alphabet.

"The exact determination of the differences and agreements of the inscriptions with Pali on the one hand, and Sanskrit on the other, would require a laborious analysis of the whole, and would be scarcely worth the pains, as the differences from either would, no doubt, prove to be comparatively few and unimportant, and we may be content to consider the language as Pali, not yet perfected in its grammatical structure, and deviating in no important respect from Sanskrit.

"Pali is the language of the writings of the Buddhists of Ava,

[88] Weber also remarks (Ind. Stud., iii., 180): "The greater purity of pronunciation maintained in the popular dialect of the north-west in comparison with the east, is shown by the inscription of Kapur di Giri, in which, according to Wilson's remark (The Rock Inscriptions of Kapur di Giri, &c.), not only the three sibilants of the Sanskrit, but also a number of compound consonants, containing an *r* (such as priya, tatra, prati, yatra, putra, savatra, krama, śuśrūshā, śramaṇa, bramaṇa, bhratu), and some others, such as *st*, *str*, have been preserved."

Siam and Ceylon; therefore it is concluded it was the language of the Buddhists of Upper India, when the inscriptions were engraved, and consequently they are of Buddhist origin. This, however, admits of question; for although the Buddhist authorities assert that Sakya Sinha and his successors taught in Pali, and that a Pali grammar was compiled in his day; yet, on the other hand, they affirm, that the doctrines of Buddha were long taught orally only, and were not committed to writing till four centuries after his death, or until B. C. 153, a date, no doubt, subsequent to that of the inscriptions."[89] . . . .

"It is by no means established, therefore, that Pali was the sacred language of the Buddhists at the period of the inscriptions, and its use constitutes no conclusive proof of their Buddhist origin.[90] It seems more likely that it was adopted as being the spoken language of that part of India where Piyadasi resided, and was selected for his edicts that they might be intelligible to the people." . . . . .

"We may, therefore, recognise it as an actually existing form of speech in some part of India, and might admit the testimony of its origin given by the Buddhists themselves, by whom it is always identified with the language of Magadha or Behar, the scene of Sakya Sinha's first teaching; but that there are several differences between it and the Māgadhi, as laid down in Prakrit grammars, and as it occurs in Jain writings. It is, as Messrs. Burnouf and Lassen remark, still nearer to Sanskrit, and may have prevailed more to the north than Behar, or in the upper part of the Doab, and in the Punjab, being more analogous to the Śaurasenī dialect, the language of Mathura and Delhi, although not differing from the dialect of Behar to such an extent as not to be intelligible to those to whom Sakya and his

[89] See, however, the remarks in the preceding section, p. 70.

[90] Professor Wilson has since, however, from an examination of the Bhabra inscription, arrived at the conviction, that there is in it "enough sufficiently indisputable to establish the fact that Priyadarśī, whoever he may have been was a follower of Buddha." (Journ. R. A. S., Vol. xv., p. 357.)

successors addressed themselves. The language of the inscriptions, then, although necessarily that of their date, and probably that in which the first propagators of Buddhism expounded their doctrines, seems to have been rather the spoken language of the people in Upper India, than a form of speech peculiar to a class of religionists, or a sacred language, and its use in the edicts of Piyadasi, although not incompatible with their Buddhist origin, cannot be accepted as a conclusive proof that they originated from any peculiar form of religious belief."

Some observations of Professor Lassen regarding these dialects, and their relative antiquity as compared with the Pali, have been already quoted in the last section (p. 72.) He remarks in another place (Ind. Alt. ii. 221, 222): "These inscriptions are of the greatest value for the history of the Indian languages, because they exhibit to us in an authentic shape the most ancient forms assumed by the popular dialects, and furnish us with a secure basis for the comparative grammar of the great Sanskritic family of languages, which became so variously developed."

"In these inscriptions we possess specimens of three vernacular dialects, one from the border country to the north-west, a second from western, and a third from eastern Hindusthan. The inscriptions on the pillars of Delhi, Allahabad, &c., differ only in particular forms from the Dhauli (Cuttak) inscription, while they possess in the main the same character, and may be classed with the Māgadhi of the grammarians. As this dialect is used even on the Delhi column, which is situated beyond the bounds of Magadha, Aśoka appears to have had a partiality for the vernacular language of his principal province; and from the predominating employment of this particular derivative of the Sanskrit, we may perhaps explain the fact that, among the Cingalese, who received the Buddhist religion from that country, their sacred language should have obtained this appellation."

At p. 486, again, Lassen says: "It is only the rock inscriptions which can be admitted as authentic evidence of the local

dialects, while the columnar inscriptions everywhere exhibit the same dialect, which consequently cannot have been spoken in every quarter where such pillars have been discovered. This remark is especially true of the Delhi column. When we consider that, between Cabul, Guzerat and Magadha (which latter province was the native country of the dialect employed in the pillar inscriptions) a wide region intervenes, inhabited by different branches of the Sanskrit-speaking race, we are driven to the conclusion that many other dialects must have been current there, of which we find no specimens in any of the inscriptions."

The following list of words, from the Delhi and Allahabad columns, and the Bhabra stone, borrowed from M. Burnouf's Lotus de la Bonne Loi (App. x., pp. 665, 724, and 741), will show the correctness of Lassen's remark, that the dialect of the pillar inscriptions resembles the Māgadhī of Dhauli, as exhibited in the comparative list which I shall immediately adduce. Thus on these columns we have *dhamme, dāne, sache, anugahe, kate, piye, kayāne* and *pāpe*, for *dhammo, dānam, sachum, anugaho, kato, piyo, kayānam* and *pāpam; lājā, vālichalesu, vihālatam, chila, Aliya, pulisa* and *abhihāle*, for *rājā, vārichavesu, vihāratam, chira, Ariya, purisa* and *abhihāro; Budhasi, dhammasi* and *sanghasi*, for *Budhamhi, dhammamhi* and *sanghamhi.*

The list of words, which I shall immediately adduce, borrowed from the article of Prof. H. H. Wilson, above alluded to, in the XIIth Vol. of the Journ. Roy. As. Soc., and from the Appendix, No. X., to M. Burnouf's Lotus de la Bonne Loi, when compared with the Pali equivalents which I have added, will suffice to show the points in which the languages of the inscriptions agree with the last-named dialect, as well as the respects in which they differ from one another. I must, however, frankly state that I do not pretend to have made these inscriptions, or the character in which they are written, the object of particular study; and I, therefore, take it for granted

that the words have been correctly decyphered by the eminent scholars from whom I quote.

In comparing the dialect of the inscriptions with other kindred forms of language, presumed to be of about equal antiquity with them, which have come down to us in books, we should recollect that the latter may have been retouched from time to time, to render them more intelligible to the readers by whom they were studied in successive generations, whereas the inscriptions have descended to us unaltered, except by the defacing action which ages have exercised on the rocks on which they are engraved. On this subject I quote the following judicious observations of Mr. Turnour, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for Dec., 1837, p. 1049:—

"When we consider that these inscriptions were recorded upwards of two thousand years ago, and that the several columns on which they are engraven have been exposed to atmospheric influences for the whole of that period, apparently wholly neglected; when we consider, also, that almost all the inflections of the language in which these inscriptions are composed, occur in the ultimate and penultimate syllables, and that these inflections are chiefly formed by minute vowel symbols, or a small *anuswara* dot; and when we further find that the *Pāli* orthography of that period, as shown by these inscriptions, was very imperfectly defined—using single for double, and promiscuously, aspirated and unaspirated consonants; and also, without discrimination as to the class each belonged, the four descriptions of *n*,—the surprise which every reasonable investigator of this subject must feel will be occasioned rather by the extent of the agreement than of the disagreement between our respective readings of these ancient records."

The following is the comparative list I proposed to adduce:—

## No. VII.

*Comparative List of Words from the rock inscriptions at Girnar, Dhauli, and Kapur di Giri, with their equivalents in Pali.*

| References. | Sanskrit. | Girnar. | Dhauli. | Kapur di Giri. | Pali. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wilson, 157 . . | देवानाम् | देवानं | देवानं | देवनं | देवानं | of the gods. |
| Wilson, 158 . . | प्रियस्य | पियस | पियस | प्रियस | पियस्स | of the beloved. |
| Wils. 165. 175. 177. 198., & Burn. 731 . | राजा, | राजा, राज, | लाजा, लाज, | रज, रय, | राजा | king (nom.) |
| | राज्ञः | राञो, रञो | लाजिने | रञो | रजिनो, रञ्ञो | king (gen.) |
| Wilson, 165 . . | राजानः | राजनो | लाजाने | रजय | राजानो | kings (nom.) |
| Wilson, 165 . . | विजिते | विजितम्हि | . . | विजिते | विजितम्हि | conquered (loc. case.) |
| Wilson, 166 . . | वृक्षाः | वच्छा | लुखनि | . . | रुक्खा | trees. |
| Wilson, 166 . . | परिभोगाय | परिभोगाय | पटिभोगय | प्रतिभोगय | . . | enjoyment (dat.) |
| Wilson, 190 . . | प्रतिवेदना | पटिवेदना | पटिवेदना | पतिवेदन | . . | representation. |
| Wilson, 170 . . | द्वादशन् | द्वादस | दुवादस | . . | द्वादस | twelve. |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wilson, 170 . . | पञ्चसु | पञ्चसु | पञ्चसु | पचषु | पञ्चसु | five (loc.) |
| Wilson, 170 . . | वर्षाः | वासा | वस | वष | वस्सा | years (nom.) |
| Wilson, 170 . . | वर्षेषु | वासेसु | वसेसु | वषेषु | वस्सेसु | years (loc.) |
| Wilson, 171. 213 | मातरि, पितरि | मातरि, पितरि | . . | मतपितृषु | मातरि, पितरि | mother, father, (loc.) |
| Wilson, 171 . . | मित्र | मिता | . . | मित्र | मित्त | friend. |
| Bur. 731., Wils. 175. 213 | शुश्रूषा | सुसुसा | सुस्रूसा | सुश्रुष | . . | obedience. |
| Bur. 730., Wils. 171. 174. 175 | ब्राह्मण | वाह्मण, वाम्हन | वम्भन, वाभन | ब्रमण | ब्राह्मण | Brahman. |
| Wilson, 171. 174 | श्रमणानाम् | समणानं | सुमनेहि | श्रमण | . . | Śramanas, (gen. & loc., or instr.?) |
| Wilson, 174 . . | प्राणारम्भः | पानारंभो | पानालम्भे | प्रनरम्भो | पाणारंभो | injury to life. |
| Wilson, 174. 182. 199 . | अन्तरम् | अंतरं | अन्तलं | अन्तरं | . . | interval. |
| Wilson, 175 . . | दिव्यानि | दिव्यनि | दिवियानि | दिवानि | दिब्बा, दिब्बानि | divine. |
| Wilson, 175 . . | रूपाणि | रूपानि | लूपानं | . . | रूपा, रूपानि | forms, (nom. and gen. pl.) |
| Wilson, 175 . . | पूर्वे | पुवे | पुलुवे | पुर्वे | पुब्बे | before. |
| Wilson, 190 . . | सर्व | सव | सव | सव | सब्ब | all. |
| Wilson, 190 . . | सर्वत्र | सवत | सवत | सवत्र | . . | everywhere. |

| References. | Sanskrit. | Girnar. | Dhauli. | Kapur di Giri. | Pali. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wilson, 176 . . | पुत्राः, पौत्राः | पुता, पोता, | पुता, | पुत्रा, - - -, | पुत्ता | sons. |
| | प्रपौत्राः | पपोता | नति | प्रनतिका | . . | grandsons. |
| Wilson, 176 . . | धर्मे, शीले | धम्मम्हि, | धम्मसि, | . . | धम्मम्हि, | virtue, goodness (loc.) |
| | | सीलम्हि | सीलसि | . . | सीलम्हि (?) | |
| Wilson, 176 . | अस्मिन्, | इमम्हि, | इमस, | . . | इमम्हि, | this object, (loc. & gen.) |
| | अर्थे | अथम्हि | अथस | . . | अत्थम्हि | |
| Wilson, 182 . . | दुष्करम् | दुकरं | दुकलं | . . | दुक्करं | difficult. |
| Wilson, 182 . . | अपत्यम् | अपचं | अपतिये | अपच | अपच्चं | progeny. |
| Wilson, 183 . . | धर्माधिष्ठानाय | धम्मधिस्टानाय | धम्माधियानाये | . . | धम्मधिठानाय | supervision of religion (dat.) |
| Wilson, 184. 200 | स्थविराणाम् | थैरानं | वधानं | . . | थेरानं | elders:religious teachers(gen.) |
| Wilson, 184 . . | भिक्षाहारिषु(?) | भिकरेसु | भीकल | भिकति | . . | beggars? |
| Wilson, 184 . . | सर्वेषु | . . | सवेसु | सवेषु | सब्बेसु | all (loc. pl.) |
| Wilson, 184 . . | नगरेषु | . . | नगलेसु | नगरेषु | नगरेसु | cities (loc. pl.) |
| Wilson, 184 . . | अवरोधनेषु | . . | ओलोधनेसु | ओरोधनेषु | ओरोधनेसु | fortresses (loc. pl.) |

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| Wilson, 190 . . | अवरोधने | ओरोधनम्हि | ओलोधनसि | ओरोधनसि | ओरोधनम्हि | palace (loc. sing.) |
| Wilson, 184 . . | भगिनीनाम् | . . | भधिनिनं | . . | भगिनीनं | sisters (gen.) |
| Wilson, 190 . . | गर्भागारे, गर्भगृहे (?) | गभगारम्हि | गभतपसि | गभगरसि | गब्भागारम्हि | inner apartments (loc.) |
| Wilson, 190 . . | वचसि | वचम्हि | . . | वचसि | वचसि, वचम्हि | word (loc.) |
| Wilson, 190 . . | विनीते | विनीतम्हि | विनीतसि | विनतसि | विनीतम्हि | polite (loc.) |
| Wilson, 203 . . | प्रवासे | पवासम्हि | पवाससि | पवस | पवासम्हि | departure from home (loc.) |
| Wilson, 191. 194 | उत्थाने | उस्थानम्हि | . . | . . | उट्ठानम्हि | elevation (loc.) |
| Wilson, 192. 195 | उत्थानम् | उस्थानं | सुठान | . . | उट्ठान | elevation. |
| Wilson, 192 . . | अहम् | अहं | हकं | . . | अहं | I. |
| Wilson, 192. 195. 205 | स्वर्गम् | स्वगं | स्वग | सग | सग्गम् | heaven. |
| Wilson, 192 . . | एतस्मै, अर्थाय | एताय, अथाय | एताये - - - | एतय, अथये | इमस्स, अत्थाय, अत्थस्स | this object (dat.) |
| Wilson, 192 . . | चिरम् | चिरं | चिल | . . | चिरं | long. |
| Burn. 731 . . | श्रेष्ठम् | सेट्ठे | . . | . . | सेट्ठं | best. |
| Wilson, 193 . . | पराक्रमेण | पराकमेन | पलाकमेन | परकमेन | परक्कमेन (?) | valour (instr.) |

| References. | Sanskrit. | Girnar. | Dhauli. | Kapur di Giri. | Pali. | English. |
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| Wilson, 198 . . | रागः | रागो | लागा | रगो | रागो | passion. |
| Wilson, 198 . . | कृतज्ञता | कतंञता | .. . | कटञता | कतञ्ञता | gratitude. |
| Burn. 755., and Wilson, 198 . | दृढभक्तिता | दढभतिता | . . | दढभतिता | दळ्हभत्तिता | firmness of devotion. |
| Wilson, 198 . . | नित्य | निचा | निचे | निच | निच्च | constant. |
| Wilson, 199 . . | एतादृशानि | एतारिसानि | एदिसानि | एदिसनि | ईदिसानि | such. |
| Wilson, 200 . . | यात्रा | याता | . . | यच | . . | journey. |
| Wilson, 220 . . | परिपृच्छा | परिपुछा | . . | परिप्रुतकु (?) | पुच्छा | question. |
| Wilson, 204:, & Burn. 736 . | भ्रात्रा | भाता | भतिना | भत | भातर | brother (instr.) |
| Wilson, 215., & Burn. 761 . | गृहस्थानि | घरस्तानि | . . | . . | (घर) गह-ट्ठानि (Dh. 72.) | domestic (nom. pl. neuter.) |
| Wilson, 215 . | विविधया | विविधाय | . . | . . . | विविधाय | various (instr. fem.) |
| | पूजया | पूजय | . . | . . | पूजाय | honour (instr. fem.) |
| Wilson, 215 . . | वृद्धिः | वढी | . . | . . | वड्ढि (?) | increase. |
| Wilson, 215., & Burn. 761. 765 | आत्म, आत्मनः | आत्प, आत्पनो | . . | . . | अत्त, अत्तनो | self: of self. |

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| Burn. 761 . . | गर्हा. | गरहा | . . | . . | गरहा | reviling. |
| Wilson, 225 . . | चत्वारः | चत्तारा (?) चत्तारो (?) | . . | . . | चत्तारो | four. |
| Wilson. 158. 233 | अस्ति | अस्ति | . . | अस्ति | अत्थि | is. |
| Wilson, 165. 191. 198. 212 | नास्ति | नास्ति | नत्थि, नथि, नथा | नस्ति, नास्ति | नत्थि (B. 649.) | is not. |
| Wilson, 166 . . | रोपितानि | रोपापितानि | लोपापितानि | . . | . . | planted. |
| Wilson, 191 . . | आरोपितम् | अरोपितं | अलोपिते | . . | . . | intrusted. |
| Wilson, 205 . . | अपवादितव्यम् | ओवादितव्यं | . . | . . | ओवादितव्वं | to be blamed. |
| Wilson, 170. 182. 203 . . | आह | आह | आहा, कह (?) | अहति [91] | आह | says. |
| Wilson, 176 . . | तिष्ठन्तः | तिस्टन्तो | . . | . . | तिट्ठन्तो | standing (nom. pl.) |
| Wilson, 176. 191. 200 . . | भवति | भवति, होति | होति | भोति, होति | भवति, होति | is. |
| Wilson, 182. 190 | भूत | भूत | हूता | भुत | भूत ऊतो | been. |
| Wilson, 182. 203 | करोति | करोति | कलेति | कराति | करोति | does. |
| Wilson, 191 . . | करोमि | करोमि | कलामि | करोमि | करोमि | I do. |

[91] The ancient form of *āha* according to Wilson, p. 171.

| References. | Sanskrit. | Girnar. | Dhauli. | Kapur di Giri. | Pali. | English. |
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| Wilson, 190 . . | कृतम् | कतं | कटे | किट | कतं | done. |
| Wilson, 184 . . | निष्ठितः | निस्टितो | निसित | निस्तिश्रित | निट्ठितो | placed. |
| Wilson, 192 . . | कर्तव्य | कतव्य | कटविय | . . | कतब्बं | to be done. |
| Wilson, 192. 195 | पराक्रमामि | पराकमामि | पलकमाव | परकमम | . . | I have power. |
| Wilson, 209 . . | पराक्रमति | पराकमते | पलाकमति | परक्रमति | . . | he has power. |
| Wilson, 192. 195 | तिष्ठेत् | तिस्टेय | ठिति होतु | ठितिका भोतु | तिट्ठेय्य | let it endure. |
| Wilson, 199 . . | अभूवन् | अहुंसु | . . | अभवसु | अहोसुं | they were. |
| Wilson, 199 . . | सन् | सन्तो | . . | सन्तु | सन्तो | being (nom. sing. part.) |
| Wilson, 216 . . | हणोति | हनोति | . . | . . | . . | hurts. |
| Wilson, 216 . . | गर्हते | गरहति | . . | . . | गरहति (?) | reviles. |
| Burn. 666. 669 . | पश्यति, दृश्यति? | . . | देखति (on Delhi pillar.) | . . | पस्सति, (देख- दि Prakrit.) | sees. |
| Wilson, 223 . . | लब्धेषु | लद्धेसु | . . . | . . | लद्धेसु | obtained (loc. pl. past part.) |
| Burn. 761 . . . | वर्द्धयति | वढयति | . . | . . | वढेति | increases. |

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| Burn. 731 . . | दर्शयित्वा | दसयित्या | . . . | . . | दस्सेत्वा (?) | having shown. |
| Burn. 731 . . | तिष्ठति | तिठति | . . | . . | तिट्ठति | stands. |
| Burn. 757. 758 . | अज्ञासु | ञयासु, ञयिसु? | . . | . . | . . . | they knew. |
| Burn. 759 . . | इयाय | अयाय (?) | . . | . . | . . | he went. |
| Burn. 659. 664., Lass. Ind. Alt. ii. 227, note 4 | परित्यज्य (त्यजित्वा?) | परिचजित्या | . . | . . | पडिचजित्वा(?) | having left. |

From an examination of this list it will be seen that, as Professors Wilson and Weber remark (above, p. 111,) the Kapur di Giri inscription departs less from the Sanskrit in the particulars which they specify than the others do; that the language of the Girnar inscription coincides most of the three with the Pali; while in the use of *l* for *r*, and *e* for *o*, the Dhauli inscription bears the well-known characters of the Māgadhi.[92] In general the whole language of these inscriptions is so well characterised by Professor Wilson in the passage I have already extracted, (p. 110, ff.) as to render any further remarks upon them superfluous.

[92] It is worthy of remark that in a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 3. 2. 1. 23. (p. 235,) the Asuras, who, perhaps, represent some barbarous tribe, are introduced as using the Māgadhī form *alavah* instead of *arayah*, enemies. तेऽसुरा आत्तवचसो हे ऽलवो हेऽलव इति वदन्तः पराबभूवुः "The Asuras, marred in their utterance, and crying out 'O enemies, O enemies,' were defeated." This passage is quoted, with some variety of reading, in the Mahabhashya, pp. 18 and 64.

SECT. VII.—*The Dialect of the Buddhist Gāthās, and its relation to the Pali: Summary of the results of this and the preceding Section.*

I now come to the last of the varieties of corrupted Sanskrit to which I referred in p. 9, viz. the language which we find in the Gathas, or metrical portions occurring in such works as the Lalita Vistara, descriptive of the life and discourses of Gotama Buddha. An account of the peculiarities of this dialect, as it is convenient to call it, has been given by Babu Rājendralāl Mitra, in the 6th No. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1854. Of the Lalita Vistara, from which the specimens given by this writer, and those which will be adduced by myself are drawn, Professor Müller remarks, that though "on account of its style and language" it "had been referred by Oriental scholars to a much more modern period of Indian literature," it "can now safely be ascribed to an ante-Christian era, for it was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, as one of the canonical books of Buddhism, as early as the year 76 A.D."[93]

I proceed to give the substance of Babu Rajendralāl's dissertation in his own words, omitting only those portions which appear to be of the least importance; making occasional abridgments; and adding, in some places, to the number of the specimens he has given of the Gatha forms.

"Of the dialects which have proceeded from the Sanskrit, the Pāli and the Māgadhi have hitherto been supposed to bear the closest resemblance to their parent, but the discovery of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal has brought to our knowledge a new dialect bearing a still closer affinity to the classic language of the East, than either of the former. Nepalese chroniclers have named it Gāthā (ballad)[94], probably, from its

[93] Buddhism and Buddhist Pilgrims, p. 24.

[94] [The antiquity of certain compositions, called *Gāthās*, is proved by the fact that the expression *munigāthā*, the gāthās or verses of the Muni, or Munis, occurs in the ancient inscription of Piyadasi at Bhabra. Burnouf App. x. to Lotus, pp. 724, 725, 729; Wilson, Jour. R. A. S., Vol. xvi., pp. 359, 363, 367. Bābu Rājendralāl also refers to the Mahāwanso, p. 252, where *gāthās* are mentioned.—J. M.]

having been principally used by the scalds and bards of mediæval India. For nearly a similar reason the Balenese style the language of their poets, the *Kāwi* or poetical, and the language of the Vedas is called *Chhandas* (metrical), whence by a well-known euphonic law, we have the *Zend* of the old Persians.

"M. Burnouf, the only European scholar who has noticed the existence of this dialect, describes it to be 'a barbarous Sanskrit, in which the forms of all ages, Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākrit appear to be confounded.'[95] It differs from the Sanskrit more in its neglect of the grammatical rules of the latter than from any inherent peculiarity of its own. The niceties of the Sanskrit forms of declension and conjugation find but a very indifferent attention from the Gāthā versifier; he uses or rejects the usual case-affixes according to the exigencies of his metre with as much veneration for the rules of Pāṇini as the West Indian Negro has for those of Lindley Murray; indeed, the best illustration that can be given of the relation which exists between the Sanskrit, the Gāthā and the Pāli, would be extracts from the literature of the Negroes.

"The Gāthā exists only in a versified form, and is to be met with in that class of Buddhist writings called the *Mahāvaipulya* or the 'highly developed' sūtras. It occurs generally at the end and often in the middle, but never at the commencement of a chapter, and contains a poetical abstract of the subject described in the prose portion of the works. The latter is written in pure Sanskrit, and comprises a highly amplified version of the subject-matter, and often adverts to circumstances unnoticed in the former.

"The Gāṭhā is written in a variety of metres, from the facile octosyllabic *anushtup*, to the most complicated *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*. Its peculiarities are those of a language in a state of transition; it professes to be Sanskrit, and yet does not conform to its rules. In it we find the old forms of the Sanskrit grammar gradually losing their expressive power, and prepositions and peri-

[95] l'Histoire du Buddhisme, p. 104.

phrastic expressions supplying their places, and time-hallowed verbs and conjugations juxtaposed to vulgar slangs and uncouth provincialisms. At one place, orthography is sacrificed for the sake of prosody and a word of a single short syllable is inflated into one of three syllables, while at another the latter yields to the former and a molossus supplies the place of a pyrrhic or a tribrach. A spirit of economy pervades the whole, and syllables and words are retrenched and modified with an unsparing hand. In the Lalita Vistara instances of these peculiarities occur in great profusion, and they may be generally referred to (A) exigencies of metre, (B) provincialisms, and (C) errors of syntax and prosody.

"A. Of the changes which may be attributed to the exigencies of metre, prolongation, contraction and elision of vowels, elision of consonants, and the segregation of compound consonants and long vowels into their simple elements, appear to be the most frequent. We shall quote a few instances:

1st. "Of the prolongation of vowels the following may be taken as examples.[96]

ना च for न च; सो च for स च; प्रयातो for प्रायातः; रोद्मान for रुद्मान.

2nd. "Of contractions of vowels, instances occur almost in every śloka. They are generally effected by the use of short for long vowels, and the substitution of i and u for e, ai, o, and au: for example,

यामि for यामे; धरेन्ति for धारयन्ति; द्रुमवर for द्रुमवराः; माय for माया; घण्ट for घण्टा; पुजमेतां for पूजामेतां; यथ for यथा; तथ for तथा; सद for सदा.

3rd. "Elisions of vowels and consonants are also very frequent; they are effected principally with a view to economy and euphony. Final *ses* are invariably elided. Take for instance:

[96] Quoted from the edition of the Lalita Vistara in the Bibliotheca Indica.

नभे for नभसि; अप्सरा: for अप्सरस:; सदार्चिस्कन्धि for सदार्चिषि स्कन्धे; इम इष्ट वस्थां for इमां इष्ट्वा अवस्थां; निश्चरी for निश्चचार; प्रणिधेन्ति for प्रणिध्यायन्ति; मना for मनस:; एन for एतेन.

4th. "Of the division of long vowels and compound consonants into their short and simple elements, the following are instances of constant occurrence:

रात्तिये for रात्र्या: or रात्र्याम्; तुरियेभि for तुर्य्येभ्य:; गिलानो for ग्लानो; इस्त्रि for स्त्री; तुरिय for तूर्य्य; अकिलान्तक for अक्लान्तक; किलेश for क्लेश; हिरि for ह्री; शिरि for श्री; शिरिया for श्रिया; शिरीये for श्रिये; देविये for देव्या; पूजारहं for पूजार्हं; पदुमानि for पद्मानि; दानचरीया for दानचर्य्या; सुपिन for स्वप्नम्.

"This tendency to segregation of aspirated consonants, forms a principal characteristic of mediæval and modern Indian phonology. The Pāli and the Prākrit owe their origin entirely to this cause. The Hindi and the Marhatti indulge in it to a large extent, and the Bengāli is not exempt from its influence.

"B. The provincialisms of the Gāthā include neglect of gender, number, and case, abbreviations and omissions of declensions, corruption of pronouns, and new forms of conjugation.

(1.) "Of the neglect of gender, number, and case, the following may be taken as examples:

विशुद्धनिर्म्मलं for विशुद्धनिर्म्मलान् (singular for plural); बुद्धचेचं for बुद्धचेचाणि (singular for plural); आसनिना for आसनात् (instrumental for ablative); बोधिसुवट for बोधिसुवटात् (objective for ablative); ऊर्द्धं हस्ता for ऊर्द्धौ हस्तौ (plural for dual); केचिदेकपादे for केचिदेकपादेन (locative for instru-

mental); त्रिलोकं for त्रिलोकी (neuter for feminine); कारणां for कारणानि (singular feminine for plural neuter); नक्षत्राः for नक्षत्राणि (masculine for neuter); पृथु for पृथवः; इमे कर्म for इमानि कर्माणि.

(2.) "Under the head of abbreviations and omissions of declension, the most remarkable peculiarity appears to be the use of उ in the room of all flectional affixes," as रतनु for रत्नम्; अहु for अहम्। उ is also merely but for the inherent अ, as in two of the following cases; क्षयुसंस्कृतु for क्षयसंस्कृत; निष्क्रान्तु for निष्क्रान्त ; परिवारितु for परिवारितः. The next are instances in which the case terminations are omitted; लौकिक for लौकिकाः; चित्रकर्म for चित्रकर्माणः; and such instances are of continual occurrence.

(3.) "The following are the corruptions of pronouns that are frequently met with in the Lalita Vistara. They apparently lead the way to the formation of pronouns in the modern vernaculars.

मह्य for मम and मत्तः; तुभ्य for त्वय, (sic.) त्वां, and तव; अयु for एषः; ते for ता; कहिं for कुत्र and केन.

(4.) "The new forms of conjugation observable in the Gāthā are attributable exclusively to corrupt pronunciation; they follow no fixed rule, and are the result of that natural tendency to abbreviation[97] which in the English originates "wont" from "will not," and "shant" from "shall not." The following are a few examples:

ददमि and देमि for ददामि; भोसि for भवसि; भोति for भवति; भोन्ति for भवन्ति; रमिष्यसि for रंस्यसे; आरुहि for अरोहत्; अरणी or रणी for अरत्; उत्थि for उत्तिष्ठ; दद for ददस्व

[97] [I do not think that the causes here alleged afford a sufficient, or even a suitable explanation of all the changes under consideration.—J. M.]

शुणोहि and शुण for शृणु; मुच्चमी for अमुञ्च; भेष्यि for भवि-ष्यामि-व-म-ति-नः अन्ति-सि थः-थ; परिकथ for परिकथय; न्यषी for निदधुः; शृणुवन्ती for शृण्वन्ति; शुणित्वा, श्रुणित्वा, शुणित्य, and श्रुत्य for श्रुत्वा; शुणिष्यति for श्रोष्यति; शून्य for श्राव्यान्; श्रोरुहित्वा for अवरुह्य; ग्लपयिसु for ग्लापयामासुः; जहित्वा for हित्वा; बुद्धित्व for बुद्ध्वा.

"It may be remarked that the corruptions above quoted are, in many instances, the precursors of forms adopted in other affiliated dialects. In Sanskrit the third person singular of the verb *to be* is *bhavati*, which in the Gāthā changes to *bhoti* by the conversion of the *v* into *o* and the elision of the *a* before and after it, (*bhonti* in the plural and *bhosi* in the second person singular), and thence we have *hoti*, *hosi*, and *honti* in the Māgadhi. *Śunitvā* for *śrutvā* is the first step to the formation of *sunia* in Bengali, while *śunohi* passes into *suno* with nothing but the elision of an inflexion.

"C. In the collocation of words and phrases the Gāthā strictly follows the rules of Sanskrit syntax, but in the formation of compound terms it admits of many licences highly offensive to the canons of Pānini and Vopadeva. They seem, however, to be the consequence of haste and inattention, and are not referrible to any dialectic peculiarity."

There are, however, some other forms discoverable in the Gāthā dialect, which have been either passed over, or but cursorily noticed by Babu Rajendralāl, and which yet present some points of remarkable interest. Thus the plural instrumental in *ebhiḥ*, which is so general in the Vedas, is in use in the Gathas also, as in the instances *śākiyebhiḥ*, *sattvebhiḥ*, *gunebhiḥ*, *sinhāsanebhiḥ*, *dārakebhiḥ*, *cheṭakebhiḥ*, employed instead of the form, *sākyaiḥ*, *sattvaiḥ*, &c., which is alone current in modern Sanskrit. It is from this older form in *ebhiḥ*, that the Pali form of the same case in *ebhi*, or *ehi*, is derived, as in the word *buddhebhi*, or *bud-*

*dhehi.* (Clough, Pali Gram. p. 19.) Again, we find in the Gathas the case-terminations of the declension in *a* substituted, in the case of words ending in consonants, for those proper to the latter form of declension. Thus, for *jagataḥ*, and *jagati* (the gen. and loc. of *jagat*), we have *jagasya* and *jage*; for *nāmnā* (instr. of *nāman*), we have *namena*; for *mahātmānam* we have *mahātmam*; for *anantayaśasam* we have *anantayaśam*; for *karmanaḥ* (gen. of *karman*) we have *karmasya*; and for *duhitaram*, accusative of the word *duhitṛi* (ending in *ṛi*), we have *duhitām*, the accusative of feminine nouns ending in *ā*. This change is one to which the Pali inclines (as in the form *Brahmassa*, as one of the genitives of Brahman), and to which a still more decided tendency is observable in the Prakrit. (See Cowell's Prakrit Gram. Introd. p. xxiii. xxiv.) On the other hand, we find also in the Gathas instances of the quite different change of *e* into *i* in the locative, as *loki*, *gehi*, *udari*, for the proper form *loke*, *gehe*, *udare*. The particle *api* (*also*) is contracted to *pi*, as in Prakrit; thus we have *ahampi* for *ahamapi*. Again, we have the peculiar forms *jihmi*, *jihma*, for *yathā*; *yathariva* for *yathaiva* (precisely as in Pali, Clough's Gram. p. 11); *sīti* for *smriti*; *paṭhe* for *patheshu*, and *ishṭikān* for *yashṭidhārakān*.

Many of the changes in the Gatha verbs are in part the same which we find in Pali. Thus, for the correct Sanskrit forms *chodayanti*, *tarpayishyanti*, *nivarttayati* and *dhārayantī*, we have *chodenti*, *tarpeshyati*, *nivartteti*, and *dharentī*, which, in Pali, would be *chodenti*, *tappessati*, *nivatteti*, and *dharenti*. Again, for *avalambate* we have *olambate*, which would take the same form in Pali. The modifications *avachi* for *avochat*, *munchi* for *amunchat*, *gachchhi* for *agachchhat*, *dhyāyi* for *adhyāyat*, correspond in some measure to such Pali forms as *akāsi* for *akārshīt*, *ahāsi* for *ahārshīt*, *adāsi* for *adāt*, *ahosi* for *abhūt*, *aṭṭhāsi* for *asthāt*, *abadhi* for *abadhīt*, &c.: and *snapinsuṇ* for *snāpayāmasuh* or *asisnapan*, is nearly the same as the Pali form *apachinsu*, the third person plural of the third prete-

rite. The Gatha forms *darśishyasi* for *drakshyasi*, and *suṇishyati* for *śroshyati*, are closely similar to the Pali form *vedissāmi* for *vetsyāmi*, *bhuṇjissāmi* for *bhokshyāmi*, and *dessissāmi* for *dekshyāmi*. The Gatha past indeclinable particles also, such as *bhavitwā*, *ramitwā*, *hanitwā*, *labhitwā*, *stuvitwā*, *manitwā*, *vijihitwā*, *śuṇitwā*, for *bhūtwā*, *mantwā*, *hatwā*, *labdhwā*, *stutwā*, *matwā*, *vi+hitwā*, *śrutwā*, are formed on the same principle as the similar Pali ones, *paviśitwā*, *jānitwā*, *bhuṇjitwā*, (for *pra+veshṭwā*, *jñātwā*, and *bhuktwā*). Of the forms *karitya*, and *kariyāna* (for *kṛitwā*) the latter coincides in its termination with such Pali forms as *sutwāna* and *diswāna* (for *śrutwā* and *dṛishṭwā*). Again, we have the form *kampayantō* (for *kampayan*), which coincides with the Pali and Prakrit. For *tyaktwā* I find the word *chhorayitwā*, which does not seem to be much used in Sanskrit, though Wilson, in his Dictionary, gives *chhoraṇa* in the sense of "leaving." I quote the following additional anomalous forms, viz. *pithitā* for *pishṭā*, *visnapī* for *vyasnāpāyan*, *snapit* for *snāpayitwā*, *kshipiṇsu* for *kshipantī*, *bhaviya* for *bhavet*, *pratishṭhihitwā* for *pratishṭhāya*, *dāsmi* for *dāsyami*, *dīyatu* for *diyatām*, *darthi* for *dadatah*, *kurumi* for *karomi*, *janamī* for *jānāmi*, *bhāsī* for *bhāshate*, *vinenti* for *vineshyati*, *janeshi* or *janaishī* for *janayishyati*, *adriśuh* for *adrākshuh*, *pasyeta* for *driśyate*, *adhyeshṭu* for *adhyetum*, *chintayā* for *chintayitwā*, *smari* for *smṛitam*, *atikrametum* for *atikramitum*. (In all these cases, I should observe, the Sanskrit equivalents are given according to the notes in the published edition of the Lalita Vistara).

I proceed with the quotations from Babu Rajendralāl's Essay.

"Of the origin of the Gāthā, nothing appears to be known for certain. M. Burnouf is inclined to attribute it to ignorance; he says:—

'This fact (the difference of language of the different parts of the Vaipulya Sūtras) indicates in the clearest manner that there was another digest (of the Buddhist literature prepared, besides those of the three convocations), and it agrees with the

development of the poetical pieces in which these impurities occur, in showing that those pieces do not proceed from the same hand to which the simple Sūtras owe their origin. There is nothing in the books characterised by this difference of language, which throws the smallest light on its origin. Are we to look on this as the use of a popular style which may have developed itself subsequent to the preaching of Śākya, and which would thus be intermediate between the regular Sanskrit and the Pāli, —a dialect entirely derived, and manifestly posterior to the Sanskrit? or should we rather regard it as the crude composition of writers to whom the Sanskrit was no longer familiar, and who endeavoured to write in the learned language, which they ill understood, with the freedom, which is imparted by the habitual use of a popular but imperfectly determined dialect? It will be for history to decide which of these two solutions is correct; to my mind the second appears to be the more probable one, but direct evidence being wanting, we are reduced to the inductions furnished by the very few facts as yet known. Now, these facts are not all to be found in the Nepalese collection; it is indispensably necessary in order to understand the question in all its bearings to consult for an instant the Singalese collection and the traditions of the Buddhists of the South. What we thence learn is, that the sacred texts are there written in Pāli; that is to say in a dialect derived immediately from the learned idiom of the Brahmans, and which differs very little from the dialect which is found on the most ancient Buddhist monuments in India. Is it in this dialect that the poetical portions of the great Sūtras are composed? By no means; the style of these portions is an indescribable *melange*, in which incorrect Sanskrit bristles with forms of which some are entirely Pāli, and others popular in the most general sense of the term. There is no geographical name to bestow upon a language of this kind; but it is at the same time intelligible how such a jargon may have been produced in places where the Sanskrit was not studied systematically, and in the midst of populations which had never

spoken it, or had known only the dialects derived more or less remotely from the primitive source. I incline then to the belief that this part of the great Sūtras must have been written out of India, or, to express myself more precisely, in countries situated on the western side of the Indus, or in Cashmir, for example; countries where the learned language of Brahmanism and Buddhism would be cultivated with less success than in Central India. It appears to me almost impossible that the jargon of these poems could have been produced in an epoch when Buddhism flourished in Hindusthan. Then, in fact, the priests had no other choice but between these two idioms; either the Sanskrit, *i. e.* the language which prevails in the compositions collected in Nepal, or the Pāli, that is, the dialect which is found on the ancient Buddhist inscriptions of India, and which has been adopted by the Buddhists of Ceylon.'[98]

"This opinion," (continues Babu Rajendralāl) "we venture to think, is founded on a mistaken estimate of Sanskrit style. The poetry of the Gāthā has much artistic elegance which at once indicates that it is not the composition of men who were ignorant of the first principles of grammar. Its authors display a great deal of learning, and discuss the subtlest questions of logic and metaphysics with much tact and ability, and it is difficult to conceive that men who were perfectly familiar with the most intricate forms of Sanskrit logic, who have expressed the most abstruse metaphysical ideas in pre-

[98] l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien, p. 105. [I have introduced a very few verbal alterations into this translation from Burnouf. Lassen, Ind. Alt. ii., p. 9, concurs in these views of Burnouf:—"The Mahāyāna Sūtras (of the Buddhists) are composed in a prose made up of a mixture of irregular Sanskrit, of Pali, and of forms borrowed from the vulgar dialects; and the narrative is repeated in verse. Such a medley of forms could only, as it appears, have arisen in a country where the learned language was no longer maintained in its purity; and, consequently, the writings in question were probably composed in the countries bordering on the Indus, and most likely in Kashmir, which plays an important part in the later history of Buddhism." (See also pp. 491, 492, and p. 1153 of the same volume.)—J. M.]

cise and often in beautiful language, who composed with ease and elegance in *Arya*, *Toṭaka*, and other difficult measures, were unacquainted with the rudiments of the language in which they wrote, and even unable to conjugate the verb *to be*, in all its forms. This difficulty is greatly enhanced, when we bear in mind that the prose portion of the Vaipulya Sūtras is written in perfectly pure Sanskrit, and has no trace whatever of the provincialisms and popular forms so abundant in the poetry. If these Sūtras be the productions of men beyond the Indus imperfectly acquainted with the Sanskrit, how happens one portion of them to be so perfect in every respect, while the other is so impure? What could have been the object of writing the same subject twice over in the same work, once in pure prose and then in incorrect poetry?

"It might be supposed—what is most likely the case—that the prose and the poetry are the productions of two different ages; but the question would then arise, how came they to be associated together? What could have induced the authors of the prose portions to insert in their works, the incorrect productions of Trans-Indus origin? Nothing but a sense of the truthfulness and authenticity of those narratives, could have led to their adoption. But how is it likely to be supposed that the most authentic account of Śākya within three hundred years after his death, was to be had only in countries hundreds of miles away from the place of his birth, and the field of his preachings? The great Sūtras are supposed to have been compiled about the time of the third convocation (309 B. C.), when it is not at all likely that the sages of central India would have gone to Cashmere in search of data, which could be best gathered at their own threshold.

"The more reasonable conjecture appears to be that the Gāthā is the production of bards, who were contemporaries or immediate successors of Śākya, who recounted to the devout congregations of the prophet of Magadha, the sayings and doings of their great teacher, in popular and easy flowing verses,

which in course of time came to be regarded as the most authentic source of all information connected with the founder of Buddhism. The high estimation in which the ballads and improvisations of bards are held in India and particularly in the Buddhist writings, favours this supposition; and the circumstance that the poetical portions are generally introduced in corroboration of the narrative of the prose, with the words: *Tatredaṃuchyate*, 'Thereof this may be said,' affords a strong presumptive evidence."

In a review of "Burnouf's Lotus de la Bonne Loi," Professor Weber (in the Indische Studien, iii. pp. 139, 140), remarks as follows on the views expressed by Burnouf in the preceding passage in regard to the language of the Gâthâs:—

"The last reason (viz. that Sanskrit was cultivated with less success in Kashmir than in central India), is an incorrect one; since, on the contrary, it is precisely in the north-west of India that the proper seat of Indian grammatical learning appears to have existed. As regards the fact itself, Burnouf may be right, and the jargon of those poetical portions may have actually been at one time the local dialect of Kashmir, which would preserve a far more exact resemblance to the ancient form of speech, than did the Pâli and Prakrit dialects which were developed in India proper under the influence of the aborigines, who spoke differently. But as Burnouf urges elsewhere, that the more recent a Buddhistic work is, the purer and more correct is its language, it appears to me more natural to assume that these poetical portions are fragments of older traditions; because, if they were more recent than the rest of the text, there is no good ground on which to account for their deviating from them in point of language; or if there were a difference, one would expect that the poetical parts would be *more* correct than the prose. This is in fact the view taken in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1851, p. 283, where the Lalita Vistara is said to have been 'compiled in Sanskrit about the end of the sixth century

from ballads in an obsolete *patois* of that language, composed evidently by bards at a much earlier period.'"

In regard to the point on which Babu Rajendralāl is at issue with the views of M. Burnouf, I will not venture to express any opinion. The peculiarities of the Gāthā dialect are so anomalous that it is very difficult to explain them. In any case, it is clear that, if not a spoken language, it was at least a written language in a remote age: and it, therefore, exemplifies to us some portion of the process by which the Sanskrit was broken down and corrupted into the derivative dialects, which sprang out of it.

I subjoin the concluding passage of Babu Rajendralāl's dissertation, in which he states his opinion in regard to the periods at which the successive modifications of Sanskrit were spoken in India.

"The language of the Gāthā is believed, by M. Burnouf, to be intermediate between the Pāli and the pure Sanskrit. Now, as the Pāli was the vernacular language of India from Cuttack to Kapurdagiri within three hundred years after the death of Śākya, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the Gāthā which preceded it was the dialect of the million at the time of Śākya's advent. If our conjecture in this respect be right it would follow that the Sanskrit passed into the Gāthā six hundred years before the Christian era; that three hundred years subsequently it changed into the Pāli; and that thence, in two hundred years more, preceded the Prākrit and its sister dialects the Śauraseni, the Drāvidi[99] and the Panchāli, which in their turn formed the present vernacular dialects of India."

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I have thus (as I originally proposed in Section I.) passed in review the various phases through which the vernacular speech of Northern India has gone since it began to deviate from the forms of its parent Sanskrit. Commencing with the provincial

[99] [If by the Drāvidi is meant the Telugu, or any of its cognate languages it is a mistake to class it with the northern Prakrits.—J. M.]

dialects of our own day, the Hindī, Mahratti, Bengalī, &c., which diverge the most widely from the original tongue, I have attempted to ascend, successively, from the more recent to the more ancient mediæval vernaculars, and to trace backwards their gradual approach in form and structure to the language of the Vedas. In Section I. the modern vernaculars are considered. In Sections II.—IV. the dialects entitled Prakrit are described; and it has there been proved that they were the spoken tongues of India before the modern vernaculars came into existence, and shown, by a variety of illustrations, that the former approach much more closely to the Sanskrit than the latter. In Section V. an account has been given of the Pali; and it has been demonstrated at length that it, in its turn, is more ancient in its grammatical forms than the Prakrits are, and departs less widely than they do from the Sanskrit. In Section VI. I have supplied some description of the language employed in the rock inscriptions of Piyadasi; by which it is put beyond a doubt that different dialects resembling the Pali were in vernacular use in Northern India in the third century B.C. And, finally, in Section VII., I have described a form of corrupt Sanskrit occurring in the Gāthās or narrative poems in which the actions of Buddha were recounted at a period apparently preceding the Christian era.

It is not necessary that I should be able to point out the exact relative antiquity of the Pali, of the language of the inscriptions, and of the language of the Gāthās. We have seen (p. 72) that the Pali has some grammatical forms which are older than those of the inscriptions; and *vice versâ*. It is sufficient to say that all these three different dialects exhibit a form of Indian speech which is of greater antiquity than the Prakrits of the dramatic poems; and that they illustrate to us some of the earliest stages of the process by which the original spoken language of India, *i. e.* the early Sanskrit, was disintegrated and corrupted.

SECT. VIII.—*On the original use of Sanskrit as a vernacular tongue; on the manner in which the Prakrits arose out of it, and on the period of their formation: views of Professors Weber, Lassen, and Benfey.*

From the above review of the spoken dialects of India, commencing with the modern vernaculars, and going back to the Prakrits and the Pali, we discover that the older these dialects are, the more closely do they resemble the Sanskrit, in the substance of the words themselves, as well as in the forms by which they are declined and conjugated. Judging by the great differences which we find between the modern Indian languages and the oldest forms of the vernacular dialects, and by the gradual changes through which the latter have at length passed into the former, we can have no difficulty at all in concluding that the very oldest known forms of the Prakrits also had, in earlier ages, undergone similar mutations, and had at one time been different in some respects from the languages which have been handed down to us; and that the further back these dialects went, the fewer and smaller were their deviations from the Sanskrit, till they at length merged altogether in that parent language, and were, in fact, identical with it. And as there is no doubt that these Prakrit dialects, in the oldest forms in which we can trace them, were spoken languages, so we are further entitled to conclude that the Sanskrit itself was at one time, *i. e.* at the period before the Prakrits broke off from it, a vernacularly spoken language.

Before, however, proceeding to the particular proof of this, I shall first of all present some general speculations of Professors Weber, Lassen, and Benfey, on the anterior elements out of which the Prakrits (under which term I include all the old vernacular languages derived from Sanskrit) were developed, and the process by which their formation was effected.

The following is Professor Weber's account of the way in which he conceives the Prakrits to have arisen[100]:—

[100] Indische Studien, ii. p. 87, note.

"I take this opportunity of declaring myself distinctly against a commonly received error. It has been concluded from the existence (in inscriptions) of Prakrit dialects in the centuries immediately preceding our era, that the Sanskrit language had died out before these dialects were formed; whereas we must, on the contrary, regard the development of both the Sanskrit and the Prakrit dialects from one common source, viz. the Indo-Arian speech, as entirely contemporaneous. . . . . For a fuller statement of this view I refer to my 'Vajasaneyi Sanhitæ specimen,' ii. 204—6; and, in proof of what I have urged there, I adduce here the fact that the principal laws of Prakrit speech, viz. assimilation, hiatus, and a fondness for cerebrals and aspirates are prominent in the Vedas, of which the following are examples: kuṭa = kṛita, R. V. i. 46. 4.; kāṭa = karta, (above, p. 30); geha = gṛiha, (above, p. 40); guggulu = gungulu, Kātyāy., 5, 4, 17; viviṭṭyai = vivishṭyai, Taitt. Arany. x. 58; kṛikalāsa, Vṛih. Ar. Mā. i. 3. 22. = kṛikadāśu, Rik. i. 29. 7; purodāṣa = purolāśa (comp. daśru = lacryma); paḍbhiḥ = padbhiḥ; kshullaka = kshudraka; bhallāksha = bhadrāksha, Chhandogya, 6. 1. (gloss); vikiriḍa = vikiridra (above, p. 31); gabhasti = grabhasti, or garbhasti; nighaṇṭu = nigranthu; ghas = gras; bhanj = bhranj = bhuj = bhruj; bhas = bras. . . . . Comparative philology exhibits similar phonetic *prakritizings* within the circle of the Indo-germanic languages as compared the one with the other." The same writer says in his Vajas. Sanh. specimen ii. 203. ff.:[101] "I incline to the opinion of those who deny that the Sanskrit Bhāshā, properly so called, was ever the common spoken language of the whole Arian people, and assign it to the learned alone. Just as our modern high German, arising out of the ancient dialects of the Germans, reduced what was common to all to universal rules and laws, and by the power of analogy obliterated all recollection of varieties; and just as, on the other hand these dialects, while they

[101] Reprinted in Indische Studien, ii. pp. 110, 111.

gradually degenerated, often preserved at the same time fuller and more ancient forms; so also the Vedic dialects, became partly combined in one stream, in which their individual existence was lost, and so formed the regular Sanskrit Bhāshā, and partly flowed on individually in their own original (Prākṛita) irregular force, and continued to be the idioms of different provinces, in the corruption of which they participated. The Sanskrit language and the Prakrit dialects had, therefore, a common and a simultaneous origin: the latter did not spring out of the former, but rather, being connected by a natural bond with the ancient language, have often a more antique fashion than the Sanskrit, which, being shaped and circumscribed by the rules of grammarians, has sacrificed the truth of analogy for the sake of regularity. The Prakrit tongues are nothing else than ancient Vedic dialects in a state of degeneracy; while the Sanskrit (or Epic) *bhāshā* is the sum of the Vedic dialects constructed by the labour and zeal of grammarians, and polished by the skill of learned men. In this way we obtain an explanation of two facts: 1st, That the very same exceptions which are conceded by grammarians to the Vedic language (*chhandas*) are often found in the Prakrit dialects, being in fact nothing but original forms; and 2nd, That in the Vedic writings, forms and words occur which are more irregular than any *Sanskrit* word could ever be; for as yet no fixed rules of euphony, orthography, or formation existed, — rules which were eventually deduced in part from those very irregularities. All the irregular forms which prevail in the Prakrit tongues are to be found throughout the Vedas. In the latter, the faculty which creates language is seen exuberant in its early power, while in the former (the Prakrits) it is seen in the degeneracy of full blown licence, luxuriating wantonness, and at last of senile weakness. Assimilation, the hiatus, and a fondness for cerebrals and aspirates, play an important part in the Vedas, not so much in those portions which are peculiar to the Yajur-veda (which, as forming a transition from the Vedic to the Epic period, or rather itself

initiating the Epic period, has also a style of language of a more modern cast, and adapted to grammatical rules), as in the older forms and words of the Rig-veda, many of which were difficult to understand in the age of the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas (*paroxavrittayah:* comp. Roth. p. li. Nighantavaḥ.) There occur moreover in the Epic poems many words which, however corrupted, have been received into the Sanskrit sometimes with no change, sometimes with very little, from the Prakrit languages in use among the greater part of the people. Of this the word *govinda* is a clear example, which, according to the ingenious conjecture of Gildemeister is nothing but *gobinda* derived from *gopendra.*"

This theory of Professor Weber, even if it were correct, would not invalidate the conclusion which I hope ultimately to establish, viz., that the language out of which the Prakrits grew had itself been subject to mutation prior to their evolution out of it. It would only prove that no one such language as Sanskrit existed during the Vedic era, but was then represented by a number of what (to distinguish them from the Prakrits) I may call Sanskritic dialects, which, by the continued action of a modifying analytic process all along at work in them, were, on the one hand, gradually broken down into the dialects which received the name of Prakrit, while, on the other hand, by a reverse process of synthetic and more formal construction, another language of a different character, and previously non-existent, became developed out of them, under the appellation of Sanskrit.

Weber's theory, however, taken in its full extent, appears to me to be disproved by the fact that, in its forms, the Vedic Sanskrit is (excepting a few archaisms) nearly identical with the Epic, while it is very different from even the oldest type of Prakrit. It is no answer to this that some old Vedic forms, such as the instrumental in *ebhis*, reappear in the Prakrits; for no one asserts that, at the earliest period when the Prakrits began to be formed, the Sanskrit did not still retain many of its Vedic forms.

I will now adduce two quotations of considerable length, from Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. ii. pp. 1147—1149, and 1151—1153, on the history of the languages of Northern India, in the course of which he replies to the preceding observations of Weber.

"The inscription of the Sinha Prince Rudradāman, which dates from the year 85 B.C., is written in Sanskrit prose, of an artificial character, with long compound words. From this fact we may infer that Sanskrit was no longer spoken by the common people, but only by the Brahmans and other persons in the higher classes."

"It has been already shown (p. 486) that in Aśoka's time the common people spoke dialects derived from the sacred language, and that, at that time, there were at least three such dialects; of which one prevailed in Eastern India, the second in Guzerat, and the third in Eastern Cabul. The existence of a fourth, of which the seat was perhaps in Upper Rajasthan, is attested by the inscription of Meghavāhana. It is highly probable that the popular Indian dialects existed at a still earlier period than this, [the age of *Aśoka* was 263—226 B.C., and that of Meghavāhana 110 A.D.[102]]; for the accounts of Buddha's sayings and doings appear to have existed in a double form, *i. e.* both in the vernacular tongues and in Sanskrit. I do not venture to assume that the vernacular tongues originated much earlier. It is indeed true that we find in the Vedic hymns some individual traces of those corruptions which in Prakrit have become the rule and characteristic feature of the language. But we must assume a long period to have intervened between these isolated appearances and their full blown development, as exhibited in particular local dialects. I do not, therefore, believe in a contemporaneous development, side by side, of the Sanskrit and the Prakrit tongues out of the one common source of the Indo-Arian language; but I assume that it was not till long after the immi-

[102] Lassen, App. pp. x. xxiii.

gration of the Indo-Arians that the Prakrits were formed in the several provinces of India. I further regard it as improbable that the Prakrits arose out of one particular dialect of the Sanskrit; for no dialects of the Sanskrit have yet been pointed out. An account is to be found, it is true, in an ancient record, according to which the Sanskrit had been preserved in greater purity in the northern countries than elsewhere, and Kashmir and Badari, at the sources of the Ganges, are specified by the commentator as such regions. This, however, is not sufficient to prove that in the different provinces of India there were then fundamental differences in the sacred language.

"No conclusion in regard to the existence of dialectic varieties in the Sanskrit can be drawn from the fact that the Prakrit dialects have all preserved the form of the instrumental plural in *hi* (derived from *bhis*), in words ending in *a*, while the modern Sanskrit has lost this form; for the ancient form in *ebhis* is not peculiar to any particular Vedic writings. The preservation of this form only proves that the Prakrit dialects began to be formed at an early period, when the termination in question was in frequent use. The early adoption, too, into Sanskrit of words which had become modified according to the laws of the Prakrit dialects, testifies, not so much to the early creation of popular dialects widely different from each other, as to the mere beginnings of such. We have to regard the causes of the varieties in the Indian dialects as twofold. The first is that general one, which has operated also in other languages, and which is indeed the principal, viz., those peculiarities connected with the abodes and the character of the tribes into which a people becomes divided. The reason why they have so operated, as they actually have, is in individual instances often difficult, nay, impossible to assign. In this way, five principal modern languages, the Provençal, French, Portuguese, Spanish and Italian, have arisen out of the Latin. Of these languages, the second, the fourth, and the fifth are rich in dialects. The second cause is (as has been already noticed) a special one,—I mean the influence

exercised on the Prakrit dialects by the languages of the aboriginal tribes adopted into the Indian political system, who discarded their own form of speech and adopted the Indo-Arian language of the province in which they dwelt. These aboriginal tribes contributed, in some instances, to introduce peculiar varieties into the Prakrit dialects. When these aborigines were particularly savage and uncultivated, it could scarcely fail to happen that they occasioned very great corruptions of sound and form in the Indo-Arian languages."

The second passage is as follows:—

"It is in the period with which we are now occupied (*i. e.* that between Vikramāditya and the later Gupta kings) that the appellations *Sanskṛit* for the classical language, and *Prākṛit* for the forms of speech springing from it, must have arisen; because it was now that the distinction between the classical language (which was no longer employed as a spoken tongue except by the Brahmans and highest classes) and the popular dialects became decidedly marked. It has been maintained that Sanskrit was never the common popular dialect of the Arian Indians, but owed its origin only to the learned; and that the Vedic dialects coalesced, on the one hand, in a single language, and so created the regular Sanskrit, in which they were lost; and on the other hand, in virtue of their inherent character, became corrupted and irregular, and in this corrupt form continued to exist as the vernacular dialects of particular provinces. I must dissent from this view on the following grounds: First, it has not yet been proved (as I have already, p. 1148, observed) that there were any different dialects in the Vedic language. To prove that there were, it must be shown that in contemporaneous Vedic writings there are found variations of such an essential character as to justify us in assuming a variety of dialects: varieties observable in writings belonging to different ages only show that there was a progressive departure from an earlier condition of the language. Secondly, it is necessary that we be agreed as to what we mean by *language*. If

thereby we mean the *style of expression*, then it may be asserted of many languages which have attained a higher degree of perfection by being employed in literature or in public assemblies, that they were not popular languages. The Athenians and Romans certainly did not, in their ordinary life, express themselves in the same style in which their orators spoke; and we Germans permit ourselves to make use of many turns of expression which we deny ourselves in books. So too we may suppose that the Indians of the earliest age did not ordinarily speak the same language which their poets employed. If on the other hand, by language we mean *grammatical forms*, I cannot see why the Indians should not in the earliest ages have made use of the same as the contemporary poets employed. This certainly was the case also in the succeeding periods. To this it must be added that Pāṇini, the oldest of the three grammarians who are styled saints, uses the word *bhāshā* (speech) to designate the ordinary language in contradistinction to the Vedic, and employs as synonymous with *bhāshāyām* the word *loke*, i. e. *in the world*. The language which the Sanskrit-speaking Indians then spoke cannot, therefore, have been different from this *bhāshā*, or current form of speech. Its fate in contrast to that of its daughters has been a peculiar one. Whilst among the Greeks the Attic dialect became the general language of prose composition, . . . and the other dialects became less and less prominent, . . . and whilst in Germany the new high-German, from its use in literature and education, has more and more superseded the popular dialects, the sacred speech of the Brahmans, on the contrary, continued to lose ground, not so much in local extension, as in its employment by the different classes of the population in the same countries. It may be assumed that in the time of Aśoka the greater part of the people in the countries inhabited by Arian Indians spoke the local dialects, and that only the Brahmans and the principal persons spoke Sanskrit. On this circumstance the distribution of the dialects in the dramas rests. As the kings who were inclined to the Buddhist religion permitted

only the popular dialects to be used in their inscriptions and coins, it becomes probable that they did the same thing in their decrees, and for other purposes."

The following remarks relating to the early extension and vernacular employment of Sanskrit, to its subsequent disuse as a spoken language, and to its ultimate resuscitation in a somewhat modified form, as a refined and sacred dialect, are translated, with occasional abridgment, from Prof. Benfey's article on India (above referred to), pp. 245, ff.:—"The language which we now call Sanskrit was once, as both the ancient and modern dialects which have issued from it distinctly show, the prevalent popular speech in the greatest part of India. Alongside of it there existed in the remotest times several dialects of one or more languages, not related to it, of the aborigines of India; which languages had at first a wider and in later times a continually decreasing, extension. The period when Sanskrit began to spread itself over India cannot be determined any more than the era of the immigration of the people who spoke it. We can only determine the following points: First, in regard to extension; (1) the Sanskrit once prevailed over a considerable tract west of the Indus, as is shown both by many geographical names in those regions, by the accounts of Chinese travellers, and by the languages which are now found existing there: (2) to the north, the Sanskrit or its dialects prevailed as far as the Himalaya and the Indian Caucasus; (3) to the east, in the time of Aśoka, as far as the region of the Brahmaputra, though this region was not entirely Sanskritized: (4) to the south, Sanskrit exercised nearly its full sway as far as the southern frontiers of Mahārāshṭra: this is proved by the fact that one of the dialects which are most decidedly of Sanskrit origin, namely, the Prakrit pre-eminently so named, is also called the language of Mahārāshṭra, and is manifestly the parent of the modern Mahratti. (5) Sanskrit penetrated still further to the south, where it formed the language of educated people: but this occurred at a time when the Sanskrit-speaking race had not

sufficient power entirely to expel the indigenous language, as they were able to do in Northern India with a few very isolated exceptions.

"Second, as to the time when Sanskrit was the language of the people we can determine as follows: We find in Aśoka's time two vernacular dialects, one in Guzerat, and the other in Magadha, which, as their entire structure shows, could not have existed alongside of, *i. e.* contemporaneously with, the Sanskrit, but must have become further developed in those provinces after the Sanskrit had previously prevailed there: consequently the Sanskrit must have died out before Aśoka, who lived in the third century B.C., and therefore about three centuries after the period to which the rise of Buddhism may with great probability be assigned. Now it is related to us of the first Buddhists, that they composed their books not in Sanskrit, but in the vernacular dialects. The sacred language of Buddhism is the Pali, which, though varying in many particulars from the language of Magadha, and approximating to the principal Prakrit (the Mahārāshṭrī), stands yet in a similar relation to the Sanskrit as the latter, and the two dialects of Aśoka's inscriptions. It becomes, therefore, highly probable that at the period when Buddhism arose, *i. e.* about the sixth century B. C., Sanskrit was no longer the speech of the people. The entire character of Sanskrit shows that, at the time of its acme, it was fixed by means of something resembling a literature, and it is only on this supposition that we can comprehend how it appears in regions so far apart as the north and north-west of India and the Mahratta country, as a perfectly uniform basis of the dialects which sprang out of it. But a speech which becomes fixed in such a manner does not soon die out. If we assume about three centuries for the time of its gradual extinction, the period when Sanskrit was the ordinary language of the people is thrown back to about the ninth century before Christ. During this and the immediately preceding period there existed, as we have already conjectured, a political union which embraced the entire

Indian empire; and as we now know that Sanskrit must have been the actual speech of the people in the Mahratta country also at this period, we may conceive this political union to have extended from the Himālaya to the south of the Mahratta country. After this political unity had become severed (till the period of its restoration under Chandragupta), the various elements of Indian life became separately developed in the different provinces; and this was the case with the Sanskrit, too, which up to that time had been common to all. Out of this variety of local developments which the Sanskrit underwent, its different derivative languages arose, the earliest forms of which bore about the same relation to Sanskrit as the Romanic dialects to Latin.

"But while the Sanskrit was being thus developed and modified by popular use into new vernacular dialects, the literature which had been created in Sanskrit while it was yet a living tongue, was still preserved in the schools[103] of the Brahmans, and along with it the Sanskrit itself as the sacred language of culture and science. When aroused to new energy by the attack made upon their system by the Buddhists, the Brahmans came forward with certain writings composed in this sacred language, and declared to be of primeval antiquity: one of the earliest of these was the Institutes of Manu; and then followed the Rāmāyana. But external grounds, as well as the mention which they make of the Yavanas (Greeks), prove these works to have been composed at a much later period than that to which they are alleged to belong. In like manner the treatment of the language in these books, and still more in the Sanskrit literature which follows, and is connected with them, demonstrates that they cannot possibly have proceeded from a popular dialect, but, on the contrary, are the products of a learned, or rather a sacred language, which, having died out among the mass of the people, had been

[103] "Though we have no distinct external evidence that there were any such schools at this early period, we may yet appeal to the whole intellectual development of Indian life, in the form which it must have taken even before the rise of Buddhism, as evidence of their existence."

preserved in the circle of the educated priesthood as the medium of intercourse with the gods, and of communicating the sacred sciences, and was cultivated with the liveliest zeal and devotion. Out of this circle again Sanskrit passed over to those persons who stood in connection with the priests as members of the same administrative caste. When the Brahmans recovered their predominance, Sanskrit became for a time the language of the educated classes, of the court, and the administration[104] generally: and even the Buddhists could not abstain from employing so valuable an instrument of cultivation. We have only to recollect the manner in which the Latin, though long a dead language, remained in use throughout the middle ages, and even in our own time, in order to perceive clearly how the Sanskrit also, though it had died out as a vernacular tongue between the ninth and sixth centuries B. C., should yet have held its ground in the highest circles, and continued in use there to such an extent that it can even now be employed as an instrument for the expression of thought on the highest subjects. The Sanskrit had, however, here an important advantage over the Latin in this respect that, wherever Brahmanism prevailed, it was regarded as a sacred language, as all the most sacred books of that religion were composed in it. In consequence of this opinion, it was considered a religious merit to be even acquainted with it; and a Sanskrit grammar, or other work which contributed to a knowledge of this language, was and is looked upon as a sacred book. In the same way a knowledge of Hebrew was long preserved among the Jews; and even so late as, perhaps, sixty years ago, no one among them could lay claim to the character of a learned man unless he had learnt the 'sacred language.'" . . . . . .

[104] [We have another instance of a language not vernacular in India being used as the language of administration, in the Persian, which, though unintelligible to the mass of the people, was used by the Mahomedans, and after them, for many years (until about twenty years ago), by the English, as the language of the law courts and the revenue offices.—J. M.]

"At the period when the dramatic literature assumed its fixed form (a period which cannot yet be determined, but which may be conjecturally placed in the sixth or seventh century A.D.), the knowledge of Sanskrit must have extended, on the one hand, to all who laid claim to the character of educated men, for otherwise the dramatic poets could not have composed in Sanskrit the leading parts in plays designed for representation before the entire public; and on the other hand it must have been constantly used as the language of public documents, of religion, and of learned men, for otherwise it could scarcely have been put into the mouth of gods, kings, and priests. Whether Sanskrit was at that time the proper court-language, I cannot determine; but I scarcely think it was, as the officers of the state, if not Brahmans, do not use it."

Professor Benfey then proceeds to specify the differences between the ancient form of the Sanskrit when it was still a vernacular language, and the later form which it took after its regeneration as a sacred and learned form of speech, so far as he considered himself in a position to do so at a period (1840) when he had before him but a small portion of the Vedas, which furnish us with almost the only means we can have of judging what the earlier language was.[105] He remarks: "The late Sanskrit is distinguished from the Vedic by the use of extravagantly long compounds. Even if the specimens of the Vedas, and the Upanishads which are known to me, had not shown that in this respect there is an essential difference in the use of the Sanskrit at the two periods to which I refer, it might have been concluded with certainty, from the character and length of these compounds, that such monstrosities could not have been created at a time when the language was in vernacular use. Such compounds might occasionally have been used with effect; but a living language would have energetically rejected such an abuse of these forms as we

[105] Had these observations been written now, Professor Benfey would probably have seen no cause to modify his main conclusions, though he would have been in a position to express himself with greater confidence and precision.

find in the late Sanskrit writings, which renders all easy comprehension impossible. On the other hand, the effort to employ such compounds was quite suitable to a learned language, and to a learned poetry, which was far removed from the real life of the people. In like manner the laws of *Sandhi*, as practised in its widest extent in later Sanskrit, must have been equally foreign to the ancient vernacular Sanskrit. In late Sanskrit all the words of a sentence are combined in one immense whole by the assimilation, or other connection, of their final and initial letters. This rule does not, in general, prevail in the Vedas; and although it is well known that in actual discourse the final and initial letters of words exercise a certain modifying influence upon each other, every one who has considered the limited extent to which a vernacular dialect, and even a literary work composed in such a dialect, can obey this law, and who, at the same time, knows to what extremes the modern Sanskrit pushes the application of this rule, will be convinced that the excessive employment of *Sandhi* cannot have sprung out of any popular use, but must have resulted from carrying out to an absurd extent a grammatical canon which is correct in itself.

"Further, when the later Sanskrit is accurately examined, it is found to be affected in a most important degree by the influence of the popular dialects derived from the more ancient Sanskrit. The Indians, with their genius for grammar, or philology generally, were in general well aware of the modifications which the ancient language had received from the dialects which had been developed out of it: they had investigated the phonetic laws by which these dialects had been derived from their parent, and could, as it were, transport the latter back to the former. This facility threw them off their guard; and it consequently becomes possible for us to demonstrate that the Sanskrit of the whole Indian literature subsequent to Manu's Institutes, cannot be in all respects the ancient language of the people, with a degree of distinctness which none of the Sanskrit authors, convinced as they were that they were writing correct ancient

Sanskrit, could have imagined. I must confine myself here to exhibiting the principal elements of this proof. It is divisible into two parts; as we must (1.) maintain that the new Sanskrit has lost[106] much which the older Sanskrit had, and which it could only lose from the circumstance that it had died out in the intermediate period, and had now to be revived in a form which might be as intelligible as possible. To this head belong a number of roots and inflected forms which the grammarians recognise and adduce partly as current, and partly as obsolete, but of which the later Sanskrit makes next to no use. The reason of this is that these roots, as well as these inflected forms, were either entirely lost in the vernacular dialects which existed at the time when the new Sanskrit was created, or had become so disfigured that their Sanskrit form could not have been easily discovered or understood. (2.) The new Sanskrit contains in it much that the old Sanskrit could not have had. To this head belong a number of forms of roots which had become modified according to the laws of some one vernacular dialect, and which have been employed in the new Sanskrit in this modified shape, which the grammarians either hesitated to refer to its proper Sanskrit form, or did not comprehend. Every single example of this which might be adduced would, however, require detailed development and proof, which would demand too much space to be here attempted.

"I will, therefore, content myself with repeating the main

[106] "The Sanskrit has lost a great many verbal roots, and has frequently modified the original meaning of those still in existence."—Aufrecht, Uṇādisūtras, pref. p. viii. "In the course of time some branches of literature disappeared, a number of words became antiquated, and the tradition as to their meaning was either entirely lost or corrupted. When commentators arose to explain the Uṇādisūtras,"—supposed by Dr. Aufrecht (p. ix.) to be considerably older than Pāṇini,—"they found the greater part of the words contained in them still employed in the literature of their age, or recorded in older dictionaries. But an unknown residuum remained, and to these, whenever tradition failed them, they were bold enough to assign quite arbitrary significations."—Ibid. pp. xi. xii.

results of the investigations which have been here merely indicated, and in great part yet remain to be carried out. These results are: *That from the period when the Sanskrit-speaking race immigrated into India down to perhaps the 9th century* B.C., *Sanskrit became diffused as the prevailing vernacular dialect over the whole of Hindusthan, as far as the southern borders of the Mahratta country. It penetrated no further south as a vernacular tongue, but only as the language of education, and apparently at a later period. From the 9th century* B.C. *the Sanskrit began to die out: derivative dialects became developed from it; and in the 6th century* B.C., *it had become extinct as a vernacular language.* On the other hand, it maintained its ground in the schools of the Brahmans. About the third century B.C., in consequence of the regeneration of Brahmanism in Kanouj, it was brought back into public life as a sacred language, and gained a gradually increasing importance as the organ of all the higher intellectual development. About the fifth century A.D., it had become diffused in this character over the whole of India. So long as the empire of the Hindus lasted, it continued to increase in estimation; and even long after the Mahomedans had settled in India, it was the sole instrument for the expression of the highest intellectual efforts."

SECT. IX.—*Reasons for supposing that the Sanskrit was originally a spoken language.*

It appears from the passages cited from the works of Professors Lassen and Benfey, that these distinguished scholars assume that the Sanskrit was once a spoken language, regarding this as a fact which admits of no question, and requires no argument to prove its truth: and Professor Weber is of opinion that *the only Indo-Arian speech which existed* at the early period to which I refer had not yet been developed into Sanskrit, but was still a vernacular tongue.[107] As, however, what seems so clear to

[107] Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 1.

the European scholar may not be so plain to the Indian reader, it becomes necessary for me to adduce the most distinct evidence of the fact which I am able to discover.

First:—Even though we assume, as we must do, that there were, from the earliest times, other forms of spoken language current in India besides the Sanskrit; yet these would be the dialects of the Dasyus, or non-Arian tribes; while the upper classes of the population of the Arian race, the same order of persons who in after times spoke the most refined Prakrit, must have been in the habit of speaking Sanskrit a few ages previously; for, in fact, no other Arian language then existed in India which they could have used. If languages with such a complicated structure as the Pali and the Prakrits were employed in common conversation, there is no difficulty in supposing that Sanskrit too, which was not much more complex, should have been spoken by ordinary persons. We must not, of course (as Professor Benfey has well remarked above, p. 151), imagine that all the refined rules for the permutation of letters which were used in later Sanskrit composition were then employed in daily discourse, though some few of them might have been; for the use of these rules is by no means essential to the intelligible or grammatical employment of the language; and at the time to which I refer, they had not been developed or systematized. Many, too, of the more complicated inflections of Sanskrit verbs would be then little used in conversation; as, in fact, they are now comparatively little used in most literary compositions.

It is true that we cannot point out the exact forms of all the Sanskrit words in use at the latest period, when it was so employed as a spoken tongue; for the language of conversation always differs to some extent from the language of formal composition or of books, and the vernacular Sanskrit was no doubt undergoing a perpetual alteration till it merged into Prakrit.

Second:—The case which I have supposed here of Sanskrit having been once a spoken language, and having at length ceased to be employed in ordinary discourse, while the provincial dialects

which sprang out of it, and gradually diverged more and more from it and from each other, have taken its place as the popular vehicles of conversation,—is by no means a singular occurrence, unprecedented in the history of language; on the contrary, the manner in which the Italian, French, and Spanish languages (to which Professor Lassen refers in a passage cited above, p. 143) have been formed out of Latin, presents a very close parallel to the mode in which the various mediæval Indian Prakrit bhāshās (which in their turn have given birth to the modern Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, &c.) grew out of Sanskrit. During the existence of the Roman empire, Latin, as is quite well known, was the spoken language of Italy, and other western portions of Europe. It is now in all those countries a dead language, and is only known to the learned who study the works of the Latin philosophers, historians, and poets; just as it is only the Pandits of India and other scholars who can understand the Sanskrit Śāstras. But while Latin has itself ceased to be a spoken language for eight hundred or a thousand years, various vernacular dialects have (as I have said) sprung out of it, such as Italian and the other modern tongues already specified; the Latin words which compose almost the whole of their vocabulary being variously modified, and the ancient Latin inflections being either corrupted, or dropped, and replaced by particles and auxiliary verbs. Of these derivative dialects, the Italian, which is spoken in Italy, has retained the closest resemblance to its mother language. Many of the changes which Latin words have undergone in Italian, resemble very closely the modifications which Sanskrit words have undergone in Pali and Prakrit, as has been already remarked in the passage quoted, in p. 81, from Burnouf and Lassen's Essay on the Pali.

To exhibit the wonderful similarity (amounting in some cases to identity) of the processes by which these two ancient languages, the Sanskrit and the Latin, are modified in their modern derivatives, I shall place in juxtaposition a few of the most remarkable instances of it which occur to me.

## I. PHONETIC CHANGES.

(1.) Words in which the *c* or *k* is dropped from a compound letter *ct*, *nct*, or *kt*, while the *t* is doubled.

| Latin forms, as modified in Italian. | | | Sanskrit forms, modified in Pali and Prakrit. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Latin. | | Italian. | Sanskrit. | | Pali and Prakrit. |
| perfectus | becomes | perfetto. | muktas | becomes | mutto. |
| dictus | „ | detto. | yuktas | „ | jutto. |
| junctus[108] | „ | giunto.[109] | bhaktas | „ | bhatto. |
| fructus | „ | frutto. | sikthaka | „ | sitthao. |
| pactum | „ | patto. | parityaktas | „ | parichchatto. |
| tractus | „ | tratto. | bhuktas | „ | bhutto. |
| tactus | „ | tatto. | saktas | „ | satto. |
| factus | „ | fatto. | | | |
| actus | „ | atto. | | | |
| octo | „ | otte. | | | |
| doctus | „ | dotto. | | | |

(2.) Words in which the *p* of *pt* is dropped, and the *t* doubled.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ruptus | becomes | rotto. | uptas | becomes | utto. |
| aptus | „ | atto. | suptas | „ | sutto. |
| inceptus | „ | incetto. | guptas | „ | gutto. |
| septem | „ | sette. | luptas | „ | lutto. |
| captivus | „ | cattivo. | triptis | „ | titti. |
| assumptus | „ | assunto. | taptas | „ | tatto. |
| subtus | „ | sotto. | saptamas | „ | sattamo. |
| (With many others.) | | | naptā | „ | nattā. |
| | | | prāptus | „ | patto. |
| | | | paryāptas | „ | pajjatto. |
| | | | kshiptas | „ | khitto |
| | | | liptas | „ | litto. |
| | | | dīptas | „ | dītto. |

(3.) Words in which the *l* of a compound letter, *pl* or *hl*, is dropped.[110]

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| planctus | becomes | pianto. | viklavas | becomes | vikkavo. |
| planus | „ | piano. | | | |

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[108] The Latin *c* is sounded as *k* in Sanskrit.

[109] *giu*, in Italian, is sounded as *ju* (जु) in Sanskrit.

[110] In Prakrit, however, a compound letter, of which *l* is the final portion, is generally dissolved into two syllables, as *glāna* becomes *gilāna*.

(4.) Words in which the *b* of the compound letter *bj* is dropped.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| subjectus | becomes | soggetto. | kubjas | becomes | khujjo.[111] |
| objectus | „ | oggetto.[112] | abjas | „ | ajjo. |

(5.) Words in which the letters rejected are not the same in the Italian and Prakrit, but in which both languages show the same tendency to simplification.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| absorptus | becomes | assorto. | utpalam | becomes | uppalam. |
| absurdus | „ | assurdo. | skandhas | „ | kandho. |
| externus | „ | esterno. | dharmas | „ | dhammo. |
| mixtus | „ | misto. | dushkaras | „ | dukkaro. |
| sextus | „ | sesto. | kshamā | „ | khamā. |
| textus | „ | testo. | mugdhas | „ | muddho. |
| saxum | „ | sasso. | mudgas | „ | muggo. |
| somnus | „ | sonno. | labdhas | „ | laddho. |
| damnum | „ | danno. | śabdas | „ | saddo. |
| autumnus | „ | autunno. | nimnas | „ | nimmo.[113] |
| domina | „ | donna. | āmnāyas | „ | āmmāyo. |
| | | | pradyumnas | „ | pajjummo. |
| | | | janman | „ | jammo. |
| | | | rājñā | „ | rañña. |

A large portion of the simplifications in Pali and Prakrit arise from the rejection of *r* before or after another consonant, as in the words *kaṇṇa* for *karṇa, savva* for *sarvva, mitta* for *mitra, putta* for *putra,* &c. This elision of *r* is not usual in Italian.

II. I give an instance or two to show the manner in which the Latin case-terminations have been dropped in Italian. In Latin the word *annus,* a year, is thus declined.

| Singular. | | Plural. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. . . . . | annus. | Nom. . . . . | anni. |
| Gen. . . . . | anni. | Gen. . . . . | annorum. |
| Dat. and Abl. . . | anno. | Dat. and Abl. . . | annis. |
| Accus. . . . . | annum. | Accus. . . . . | annos. |

[111] Var. II. 34.

[112] Pronounced as if written in English, *sojjetto, ojjetto.*

[113] I can only infer, from the rule in Vararuchi, III. 2, that the *n* is thrown out and the *m* doubled in this and the two following words, as I have not met them anywhere.

In Italian, on the contrary, there is only one form in the singular, *anno;* and one in the plural, *anni;* the case-terminations being supplied by prepositions with or without the article, as follows:—

| Singular. | | Plural. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. and Accus. . | l' anno. | Nom. and Accus. . | gli anni. |
| Gen. . . . . | dell' anno. | Gen. . . . . | degli anni. |
| Dat. . . . . | all' anno. | Dat. . . . . | agli anni. |
| Abl. . . . . | dall' anno. | Abl. . . . . | dagli anni. |

III. In Italian verbs, the Latin forms of the active voice are preserved in a modified shape, as the following example will show:

| Present tense. | | Imperfect tense. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Latin. | Italian. | Latin. | Italian. |
| 1. vendo. | 1. vendo. | 1. vendebam. | 1. vendeva. |
| 2. vendis. | 2. vendi. | 2. vendebas. | 2. vendevi. |
| 3. vendit. | 3. vende. | 3. vendebat. | 3. vendeva. |
| 4. vendimus. | 4. vendiamo. | 4. vendebamus. | 4 vendevamo. |
| 5. venditis. | 5. vendete. | 5. vendebatis. | 5. vendevate. |
| 6. vendunt. | 6. vendono. | 6. vendebant. | 6 vendevano. |
| **Perfect tense.** | | **Pluperfect tense.** | |
| 1. vendidi. | 1. vendei. | 1. vendidissem. | 1. vendessi. |
| 2. vendidisti. | 2. vendesti. | 2. vendidisses. | 2. vendessi. |
| 3. vendidit. | 3. vendè. | 3. vendidisset. | 3. vendesse. |
| 4. vendidimus. | 4. vendemmo. | 4. vendidissemus. | 4. vendessimo. |
| 5. vendiditis. | 5. vendeste. | 5. vendidissetis. | 5. vendeste. |
| 6. vendiderunt. | 6. venderono. | 6. vendidissent. | 6. vendessero. |

But (IV.) in the passive voice the Italian language has entirely lost the Latin forms of conjugation. Thus instead of the Latin forms *ego laudor,* 'I am praised;' *ego laudabar,* 'I was praised;' *ego laudarer,* 'I should be praised,' &c., the Italians employ in all tenses (as the Latin had already done in a few), the substantive verb with the past participle, and say *Io sono lodato, Io era lodato, Io sarei lodato,* 'I am,' 'I was,' 'I should be, praised.'

These few instances will suffice to show the Indian reader how the Latin words and inflections are modified in Italian.

It is thus manifest from the history of Italy in ancient and

modern times that the people of that country once spoke Latin, and now speak Italian, a vernacular dialect derived from Latin, and differing from it in many respects, as the Indian Prakrits do from Sanskrit, while Latin equally with Sanskrit is a dead language, known only from ancient books, or from its use in the public worship of the Roman Catholic Church, or from its occasional employment by modern scholars in their writings, or in scholastic discussions, in that and other countries. But if it be true that a language like Latin, with its numerous and varied inflections, was once the common speech of the whole Roman people, there can be no difficulty in supposing that while the modern Hindus (excepting a few Pandits) can only speak Bengali, Hindi, Mahratti, &c., and while their ancestors spoke different Prakrit dialects, which are the *immediate* parents of the modern vernaculars, the Hindus of a still earlier period should have spoken Sanskrit itself, from which there is no doubt that the older forms of Prakrit were immediately derived. If even in our own day Pandits can talk Sanskrit, why should not the vernacular use of it, though in a far more simple and natural style, have, in former ages, been common among Brahmans, and even among other persons in all the different classes of society?

Third:—The fact that the dramatic authors put Sanskrit into the mouth of Brahmans and other persons of the higher ranks, affords an argument of considerable force that Sanskrit was once spoken by the whole community, and by the upper classes down to a much later period: and even the common employment of the same language by learned Indians in their schools and disputations down to the present day, may go some way to prove its more general currency as a vernacular at an earlier date. For if Brahmans did not at one time employ it in their ordinary discourse, how did they ever get into the habit of speaking it with so much ease and fluency? But if Sanskrit was at one time ordinarily spoken by Brahmans, the use of it would easily be propagated from one generation of learned men to another.

Fourth:—Manu speaks of a difference of speech in ancient India among the Dasyus, or non-Arian tribes, some classes of them speaking the language of the Aryas, and others the language of the Mlechhas.[114] The language of the Aryas to which he alludes must have been derived from Sanskrit, if not Sanskrit itself: whether it was the one or the other must depend on the age in which we suppose this particular text of Manu's Institutes to have been composed. This passage, at any rate, leaves the impression that there was a broad distinction between the Arian language and the indigenous dialects with which it was contrasted; and that the varieties, if any, recognised as existing in the former, were regarded as comparatively insignificant.

Fifth:—In some of the oldest Indian grammarians, such as Yāska and Pāṇini, we find the obsolete language of the Vedas distinguished from the ordinary Sanskrit of the day. The former is alluded to or designated by the terms *anvadhyāyam* (in the Veda), *chhandas* (metre), or *ārsha* (the speech of the ṛishis), &c.; while the contemporary Sanskrit is referred to as *bhāshā* (the spoken language). Thus Yāska, the ancient author of the Nirukta, in the introductory part of his work, I. 4, speaking of particles (*nipātāḥ*), says: तेषामेते चत्वार उपमार्थे भवन्तीति। इव इति भाषायाञ्च अन्वध्यायञ्च अग्निरिवेन्द्र इवेति। न इति प्रतिषेधार्थीयो भाषायाम् उभयमन्वध्यायं न इन्द्रं देवममंसतेति प्रतिषेधार्थीयः इत्यादि॥ "Of them these four are particles of comparison. '*Iva*' has this sense both in the common language (*bhāshā*) and in the Veda (*anvadhyāyam*): thus *Agnir iva*, *Indra iva*, 'like Agni,' 'like Indra.' '*Na*' has in the *bhāshā* a negative sense. In the Veda, it has the sense both of a negative and also of a comparative particle. Thus in the text *na Indram devam amansata*, 'they did not regard Indra as a god,' it has a negative sense," &c. Again, in the next

[114] Manu. x. 45. See the verse quoted and translated in Part I. of this work, p. 178, and note.

section (I. 5.), he says similarly: **नूनमिति विचिकित्सार्थीयो भाषायाम् उभयमन्वध्यायं विचित्सार्थीयः पदपूरणश्च॥** "The particle '*nūnam*' is used in the *bhāshā* to signify uncertainty; in the Veda, too, it has that signification, and is also a mere expletive." Again, Yāska says, Nir. II. 2: **अथापि भाषिकेभ्यो धातुभ्यो नैगमाः कृतो भाष्यन्ते दमूनाः क्षेत्रसाधा इति। अथापि नैगमेभ्यो भाषिका उष्णं घृतमिति। अथापि प्रकृतय एवैकेषु भाष्यन्ते विकृतय एकेषु। श्वयति गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाष्यते विकारमस्य आर्य्येषु भाषन्ते शव इति। दाति लवनार्थे प्राच्येषु दात्रमुदीच्येषु॥** "There are Vedic (*naigama*) nouns (as *damūnāḥ* and *kshetrasādhāḥ*) which are derived from roots found in the *bhāshā;* and also formations in the *bhāshā*, such as *ushṇam*, *ghṛitam*, which come from Vedic roots. Further, the roots only are employed in the speech of some; the derived forms [or nouns] in that of others. *Śavati*, as a verb for *going*, is used in the language of the Kambojas only: its derivative, *śava* (*a corpse*), is in use in the language of the Aryas. The verb *dāti* is employed in the sense of *cutting* by the people of the East: while the noun *dātram (a sickle)* only is known to those of the North." Here it will be observed that pure Sanskrit words are referred to as being used in the speech not only of the Aryas, but also of the Kambojas, a people living to the north-west, who are distinguished from the Aryas.

In the Sūtras of Pāṇini the Vedic dialect is referred to as follows: 1.2.36, **विभाषा छन्दसि** "in the *chhandas* (Veda) there is an option:" 1. 4. 20, **अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि** "In the *chhandas* we have the forms *ayōsmaya* [instead of *ayōmaya*], &c."; and so in numerous other aphorisms. The word *mantra* is put for Veda in the following Sūtras, 2. 4. 80; 6. 1. 151; 6. 1. 210; 6. 3. 131; 6. 4. 53; 6. 4. 141. The word *nigama* is similarly used in 6. 3. 113; 6. 4. 9; 7. 2. 64; 7. 4. 74:—and the expressions *ṛishau* ('in a

ṛishi'), and *ṛichi* ('in a Vedic verse'), are employed in the same way, 4. 4. 96; 6. 3. 130; and 6. 3. 133. In contradistinction to the Vedic dialect, on the other hand, the current Sanskrit is designated by Pāṇini as *bhāshā* in the following Sūtras, 3. 2. 108: भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः। "in the *current language* the roots *sad*, *vas*, and *śru*, take *kvasu*;" 6. 3. 20: स्थे च भाषायाम्। "and in the case of *stha* in the *current language*." The same use of the word will be found in Sūtras, 6. 1. 181; 7. 2. 88; 8. 2. 98.[115]

Yāska is supposed by Professor Müller to have lived in the fourth century B.C.[116] If this view be correct, and if we adopt (as there appears good reason for doing) the opinion expressed by Professors Lassen and Benfey (see last section, pp. 142. 147.) that Sanskrit had ceased to be vernacular in the time of Buddha, *i. e.* in the sixth century B.C., that language must have died out some centuries before the age of Yāska; and a still longer period before the time of Pāṇini, who, from the more developed state of his grammatical terminology is considered to have been later than Yāska. In this case, these authors could scarcely employ the word *bhāshā*, when referred to Sanskrit, in the sense of an universally spoken language; for the language then actually in general use must have been a species of corrupt Sanskrit, though it may not yet have received the appellation of Prakrit. But still the spoken language of that day had not departed so far from the Sanskrit but that its close relation to the latter as its parent, or rather as its standard, would be evident to every scholar; and thus Sanskrit would still be called the *bhāshā*, or language *par excellence*. We have consequently, in the continued use of this word, an argument of considerable force to show that the Sanskrit had at one time been a spoken tongue.

[115] See Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 167, note 2, where further instances of the same kind in other ancient authors are referred to.

[116] "Last Results of Sanskrit Researches," in Bunsen's Outlines of the Phil. of Un. Hist., i. p. 137.

Again, in the Mahabhashya (pp. 22 and 63 of Dr. Ballantyne's edition) we find the following passage:—

भूयांसोऽपशब्दाः। अल्पीयांसश्शब्दाः। एकैकस्य हि शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः। तद् यथा गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिकेत्येवमादयो बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः॥ &c.

"Incorrect words are the most numerous, and [correct] words are the fewest; for of each word there are many corruptions (*apabhraṅśāḥ*). Thus there are the following numerous corruptions of the word *gauḥ* (cow); viz., *gāvī, gonī, gotā, gopotalikā*, &c." This reference to incorrect forms, such as those of the word *gau*, which seem to be Prakrit[117], appears to indicate that Sanskrit was still spoken by a considerable class of persons, or was at least regarded as the standard of all spoken language; and that all deviations from it were looked upon as mere vulgarisms: for there would have been no ground for such a mode of comparison between words which were regarded as belonging to different languages; nor would the Prakrit synonyms of *gau* have been wrong because of their variety of form.

Sixth:—In the 164th hymn of the 1st book of the Rig-veda, the following verse (the 45th) occurs: चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः। गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति॥ "There are four measured grades of language: with these intelligent Brahmans are acquainted. Three hidden in secret make no sign. The fourth grade of speech is uttered by men." I quote part of the comment on this verse, which is given in the Pariśishṭa, or Supplement to the Nirukta, I. 9.

कतमानि तानि चत्वारि पदानि। ओङ्कारो महाव्याहृतयश्च इत्यार्षम्। नामाख्याते च उपसर्गनिपाताश्चेति वैयाकरणाः।

[117] In the Mṛichhakaṭi, pp. 98, 99, the word *gonā* occurs in the sense of oxen.

मंत्रः कल्पो ब्राह्मणं चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीति याज्ञिकाः। ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीति नैरुक्ताः। सर्पाणां वाग्व्यसां क्षुद्रस्य सरीसृपस्य चतुर्थी व्यावहारिकीत्येके। पशुषु तृणवेषु मृगेष्वात्मनि चेत्यात्मप्रवादाः। अथापि ब्राह्मणं भवति। सा वै वाक् सृष्टा चतुर्धा व्यभवद् एष्वेव लोकेषु त्रीणि पशुषु तुरीयं। या पृथिव्यां सा अग्नौ सा रथन्तरे। या अन्तरिक्षे सा वायौ सा वामदेव्ये। या दिवि सा आदित्ये सा बृहति सा स्तनयित्नावथ पशुषु। ततो या वाग् अत्यरिच्यत तां ब्राह्मणेष्वदधुः। तस्माद् ब्राह्मणा उभयीं वाचं वदन्ति या च देवानां या च मनुष्याणामिति॥

"What are these four grades? The explanation of the rishis is, that 'they are the four mystic words, *om*, *bhūh*, *bhuvah*, and *swar*.' The grammarians[118] say 'they are the four kinds of words, nouns, verbs, prepositions and particles.' The ceremonialists declare them to be '(1st) the mantras; (2nd) the kalpas, (liturgical precepts); (3rd) the brāhmaṇas; and (4th) the current language.' The commentators (*nairuktāḥ*) explain them as being '(1st) the ṛich; (2nd) the yajush; (3rd) the sāman texts; and (4th) the current language.' Others think they denote the speech '(1st) of serpents; (2nd) of singing-birds (?); (3rd) of small reptiles; and (4th) the current language.' The philosophical school explains the four grades as having reference to 'beasts, . . . . . .[119], wild animals, and soul.' On this point we have also the following text in a Brāhmaṇa: 'Speech, when created, became divided into four parts, of which three abide in these three worlds (earth, the atmosphere, and the sky), and the fourth among the beasts. Terrestrial speech abides in fire and in the Rathantara texts; atmospheric speech abides in the wind,

[118] See the Mahābhashya, pp. 28, 29.

[119] I am unable to discover the meaning of *tūṇaveshu*, the word left here unexplained.

and in the Vamadevya prayers; celestial speech abides in the sun, in the Brihat metre, and in thunder. The [fourth portion of speech was] in the beasts. The speech which remained in excess [?] was placed in the Brāhmaṇas: hence the Brahmans speak two sorts of language; both that of gods and that of men.'"

The Pariśishṭa appended to the Nirukta is more modern than the time of Yāska, though it is regarded as a part of his work by Durga, the commentator, who refers to the Nirukta as consisting of 14 parts. (See his comment on Nir., i. 20, which is quoted below, pp. 175, ff.) But though itself subsequent in date to the Nirukta, the preceding passage refers to the opinions of various ancient writers, and may, therefore, be held to carry us back to a remote period. Three of the ancient schools which are quoted, assert the current language (*vyāvahārikī vāk*) to be the fourth kind of speech alluded to in the Vedic text as being spoken by men. By this we can only understand *Sanskrit*. It is true that in the Brāhmaṇa which the author of the Pariśishṭa cites, a remark is made (connected with what precedes) that the Brahmans *speak two languages, that of the gods and that of men*, and this might seem to prove that, as in later times, a distinction was drawn at the time when the Brāhmaṇa was composed, between Sanskrit, the language of the gods, and Prakrit, the language of men. But the reference may be to *the Vedic and the ordinary Sanskrit;* or to some unknown piece of mysticism. And, in any case, as we are ignorant of the date of the Brāhmaṇa from which the citation is made, no conclusion can be drawn from the passage adverse to the vernacular use of Sanskrit in the Vedic age.

Seventh:—In the Rāmāyana several passages occur in which the colloquial use of Sanskrit is mentioned. These are the following[120]:—

[120] For the references to most of the texts here quoted I am indebted to Weber, Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, for 1854, p. 851, note.

Hanuman, the monkey general, is represented as having found his way into the palace of Rāvaṇa, the Rākshasa king, and as reflecting how he is to address Sitā, who is there confined. He says (Sundara Kāṇḍa, xxix. 16, 17): **अनेनाश्वासयिष्यामि शोकेनापिहितेन्द्रियाम्। अहं ह्यविदितश्चैव वानरश्च विशेषतः। यदि वाचं वदिष्यामि द्विजातिरिव संस्कृताम्। सेयमालक्ष्य रूपञ्च जानकी भाषितञ्च मे। रावणं मन्यमाना मां पुनस्त्रासं गमिष्यति। ततो जातपरित्रासा शब्दं कुर्य्याद् मनस्विनी॥** "I shall console her, whose senses are overwhelmed with this grief. But I am both unknown, and above all a monkey. If I were to speak in polished (*sanskṛitām*) language, like a twice-born man, Jānaki (Sitā) perceiving my appearance, and [hearing] my words, would think that I was Rāvaṇa, and would again become terrified; and would scream in consequence of her fright." Considering that this would lead to a discovery, he concludes as follows (verses 33 and 34 of the same section): **राममक्लिष्टकर्माणं निमित्तै रनुकीर्त्तयन्। तस्माद् वक्ष्याम्यहं वाक्यं मनुष्य इव संस्कृतम्। नैनामुद्वेजयिष्यामि तद्धि गतमानसाम्॥** "Announcing [imitating?] by signs the undaunted Rāma, I shall address to her such polished (*sanskṛitām*) language as an [ordinary?] man would. [Thus] I shall not occasion her any alarm, as her mind is fixed on the thoughts of her husband."

As the reason assigned in these passages for not addressing Sitā in Sanskrit such as a Brahman would use, is not that she would not understand it, but that it would alarm her, and be unsuitable to the speaker, we must take them as indicating that Sanskrit, if not spoken by women of the upper classes at the time when the Rāmāyana was written (whenever that may have been[121]), was at least understood by them[122], and was commonly spoken by men

[121] Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. i., pp. 484, ff., does not determine its date.

[122] In the Mṛichhakaṭi, however, written probably not much later, a

of the priestly class, and other educated persons. By the Sanskrit proper to an [ordinary] man, alluded to in the second passage, may perhaps be understood not a language in which words different from Sanskrit were used, but the employment of formal and elaborate diction.

On the other hand, an expression occurs in the Araṇya Kāṇḍa, xvi. 14, from which it would rather seem as if the use of Sanskrit was a characteristic of Brahmans; and no doubt they were the persons who chiefly spoke it: धारयन् ब्राह्मणं रूपमिल्वलः संस्कृतं वदन्। न्यमन्त्रयत विप्रान् स श्राद्धमुद्दिश्य निर्घृणः॥ "Assuming the form of a Brahman, and speaking Sanskrit, the ruthless Rākshasa Ilvala invited Brahmans to a funeral ceremony."

In the Sundara Kāṇḍa, the discourse of Prahasta, one of the Rākshasas, is characterised as संस्कृतं हेतुसम्पन्नमर्थवच्च यदुक्तवान्॥ "polished (*sanskṛitam*), supported by reasons, and judicious in its purport"; and in the Yuddha Kāṇḍa, the god Brahmā is said to have addressed to Rāma a discourse which was संस्कृतं मधुरं श्लक्ष्णमर्थवद् धर्मसंहितम्॥ "polished, sweet, gentle, profitable, and consonant with virtue." But in neither of these two passages does there appear to be any reference to the special meaning of the word *Sanskṛita*.

In the subjoined lines (Sundara Kāṇḍa, xviii. 19), the word

woman's pronunciation of Sanskrit is spoken of as something laughable (p. 44, Stenzler's ed.):— मम दाव दुवेहिं ञ्चेव हस्सं जाअदि दत्थिआए सक्कदं पढन्तीए मणुस्सेण अ काअलिं गाअन्तेण। दत्थिआ दाव सक्कदं पढन्ती दिण्णवण्णस्सा विअ गिट्ठी अधिअं सुसुआअदि॥ which is thus translated by Professor Wilson (Theatre of the Hindus, i. 60):—"Now, to me, there are two things at which I cannot choose but laugh, a woman reading Sanskrit, and a man singing a song; the woman snuffles like a young cow, when the rope is first passed through her nostrils."

*sanskāra* is employed, if not in a technical signification, as equivalent to *sanskṛita*, at all events in a manner which enables us (as Weber observes) to perceive how that technical sense of the word arose:—दुःखेन बुबुधे चैनां हनुमान् मरुतात्मजः। संस्कारेण यथा हीनां वाचमर्थान्तरं गताम्। तिष्ठन्तीमनलङ्कारां दीप्यमानां स्वतेजसा॥ "Hanumān, Son of the Wind, recognised Sītā with difficulty, standing, as she was, unadorned, radiant only with her own brilliancy: just as a word is not readily understood, when its sense is changed by the want of its *correct grammatical form.*"

Eighth:—From the researches of MM. Kuhn[123] and Benfey[124] it appears that many words, which in modern Sanskrit are only of one, two, or three, &c., syllables, have, in the Veda, to be read as of two, three, or four, &c., syllables, *i.e.* as of one syllable longer, in order to make up the full length of the lines required by the metre employed by the Vedic poets. Thus *twam* has to be read as *tuam; vyushṭau* as *viushṭau; turyam* as *turiyam; martyāya* as *martiāya; vareṇyam* as *vareṇiam; amātyam* as *amātiam; swadhvaram* as *suadhvaram;* and *svastibhiḥ* as *suastibhiḥ.* Now as this mode of lengthening words is common in Prakrit, it would appear that the Prakrit pronunciation agrees in this respect with that of the old Sanskrit in contradistinction to the more recent. But as the Prakrit pronunciation must have been borrowed from a previously existing popular pronunciation, which was at the same time that employed by the Vedic poets, we find here another reason for concluding that the old spoken language of India, and the Sanskrit of the Vedas were at one time identical.[125]

[123] Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, iii. 80.

[124] Sāma-veda, Introduction, p. liii., ff.

[125] I quote some remarks of Benfey, Sāma-V. Introd. p. liii.:—"The necessity for frequently changing the liquids *y* and *v* into the correspondent vowels *i* and *u*, had been remarked by the Indian writers on prosody, who teach that, wherever the metre requires it, *iy* and *uv* should be read instead of *y* and *v*. In

SECT. X.—*Various stages of Sanskrit literature, and the different forms in which they exhibit the Sanskrit language: the later Vedic commentators: earlier expounders: the Nirukta: the Brāhmaṇas: the Vedic hymns: imperfect comprehension of them in later times from changes in the language: the hymns composed in the vernacular idiom of their age.*[126]

As I have shown in the preceding section that Sanskrit was once a spoken language, it must, in that its earlier stage, have been exposed to the mutations to which all spoken languages are subject from their very nature. Sanskrit must, in the course of ages, have become very different from what it originally was.[127]

many words the former mode of writing appears to have prevailed; as is rendered probable by the differences of reading between the Sāma-veda and the Rig-veda, the former, for instance, reading *tugriya*, *subhuvah*, *sudruvam*, where the latter reads *tugrya*, *subhvah*, *sudrvam*; and the latter, on the contrary, reading *samudriya*, where the former reads *samudrya*. . . . But the necessity of making the change in order to obtain a reading conformable to the metre, is of such ordinary occurrence that we are soon led to conclude that, at the time when the Vedas were composed, the liquids (*y* and *v*), which appear in the Sanhitās as we now have them, had not yet, for the most part, begun to be pronounced, but that, in their stead, the corresponding vowels, *i* and *u* were employed." On the other hand, *y* and *v* must sometimes be read instead of *iy* and *uv* (p. lvi.) The fifteen verses of the Purusha Sūkta, (cited in the First Part of this Work, pp. 6, ff.), which are composed in the Anushṭup metre, will be generally found to have the proper number of feet, if not in other respects to scan correctly,—if the preceding remarks be attended to. Thus in the first verse, line second, the words *vṛitwā* and *atyatishṭhat* must be read apart, and *not* united by sandhi. *Bhāvyam* (in the first line of the second verse) must be lengthened to *bhāviyam*; *vyakrāmat* (second line, fourth verse), to *viakrāmat*; *sādhyā* (second line, seventh verse), to *sādhiyā*; *ājyam* (first line, eighth verse, though *not* in second line, sixth verse) to *ājiam*; *grāmyāścha* (second line, eighth verse) to *grāmiāścha*; *vyadadhuḥ* and *vyakalpayan* (first line, eleventh verse) to *viadadhuḥ* and *viakalpayan*; and *rājanyaḥ* (first line, twelfth verse) to *rājaniaḥ*.

[126] In revising this section (composed originally in 1858,) for the press, I have had the assistance of Professor Müller's work on the Veda, which has enabled me to make a few additions, and to modify some of my previous statements.

[127] I fear that the text of Patanjali (Mahābhāshya, p. 104) may be cited against

And in fact we find from the records of Indian literature, that the Sanskrit, as it is brought before us in the different Śāstras, has gone through different phases. The most modern is that in which we find it in the Purāṇas, Itihāsas, and Smṛitis. The Itihāsas and Purāṇas are undoubtedly not to be ranked with the oldest Sanskrit writings, for they all imply that there were many older records of Hindu antiquity existing when they were compiled, and often quote various ancient verses.[128] The Mahābhārata frequently

me here:— नित्याश्च शब्दाः। नित्येषु च शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैः भवितव्यम् अनपायोपजनविकारिभिः॥ "Words are eternal; and in the case of eternal words we must have immutable and immoveable letters, free from diminution, or increase, or alteration." But the words which Bhāskara Acharyya applied to astronomy are equally applicable to grammar:— अत्र गणितस्कन्धे उपपत्तिमानेवागमः प्रमाणम्॥ "In this astronomical department scripture is only authoritative when it is supported by demonstration." This is true, also, of all other matters which, like Grammar, come within the sphere of science.

[128] That they are not all of one age is shown by an enlightened Indian Pandit, Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar, in the Bengali preface to his Rijupāṭha, or Sanskrit selections, as follows:—

সকল পুরাণ অপেক্ষা বিষ্ণুপুরাণের রচনা প্রাচীন বোধ হয়। যাবতীয় পুরাণ বেদব্যাসপ্রণীত বলিয়া প্রসিদ্ধি আছে। কিন্তু পুরাণ সকলের রচনা পরস্পর এত বিভিন্ন যে এক ব্যক্তির রচিত বলিয়া বোধ হয় না। বিষ্ণুপুরাণ, ভাগবত ও ব্রহ্মবৈবর্ত্তপুরাণের এক এক অংশ পাঠ করিলে, এই তিন গ্রন্থ এক লেখনীর মুখ হইতে বিনির্গত বলিয়া প্রতীতি হওয়া দুষ্কর॥

বিষ্ণুপুরাণ প্রভৃতির সহিত মহাভারতের রচনার এত বিভিন্নতা যে যিনি বিষ্ণুপুরাণ, কিম্বা ভাগবত, অথবা ব্রহ্মবৈবর্ত্তপুরাণ রচনা করিয়াছেন তাঁহার রচিত বোধ হয় না॥

"All the Purāṇas are commonly said to be the composition of Vedavyāsa. But the style of the different Purāṇas is so various that they cannot be conceived to be the work of one person. After reading a portion of the Vishnu-purāṇa, another of the Bhāgavata, and a third of the Brahmavaivarttapurāṇa, it is difficult to believe them all to have proceeded from one pen. . . . . So, too, there is such a discrepancy between the style of the

introduces old legends with the following formula: अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् ॥ "Here they adduce this ancient narrative." (See Part I. p. 33.) In all these different classes of works, which, in their present form, are comparatively recent parts of Indian literature, the Sanskrit language is substantially the same. At the time when even the oldest of these works were reduced into their present form, we must suppose that the Sanskrit had nearly ceased to be a spoken tongue, and had become gradually stereotyped as a polished and learned language, by the precepts of those grammarians who preceded Pāṇini, as well as of that scholar himself and his successors. As the language which had thus been polished, improved, and fixed by precise grammatical rules, ceased to be popularly spoken, it was preserved from any future changes. In this way the Sanskrit language has remained unaltered for two thousand years, till it has acquired the appearance of immutability; while its antiquity, and the perfection of form which it eventually acquired, and has so long retained, have caused it to be regarded as of divine origin; just as every science which has descended from a remote age, or even from a period comparatively recent, is regarded by the people of India as supernatural.[129] Prior to this era, however, and as long as it had continued to be commonly spoken by the upper classes, the Sanskrit had been liable to constant fluctuations in the forms of its inflections. Accordingly, in the works which are more ancient than the Smṛitis and Itihāsas, we find various differences of grammatical form, and a style altogether more antique. This is to some extent the case in the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, where we encounter a simplicity of

Mahābhārata and that of the Vishnu-purāṇa, and the other works mentioned above, that it cannot be imagined to be the composition of the same person by whom they were written."

[129] The philosophers Rāmānuja and Mādhwāchāryya are called incarnations of Śesha and Vāyu (Wilson's Hindu Sects., pp. 24 & 87.) and Śankara Acharyya is celebrated in the Vṛihad Dharma-purāṇa as an incarnation of Vishṇu. (Colebrooke's Essays, i. 103, 104.)

syntax and a tautology of style, together with many particles, and some modes of construction, which are foreign to the later works.[130] The Brāhmaṇas, however, are only to be regarded as a middle stage between the Vedic hymns (mantras) and the more modern Sanskrit. It is to the hymns of the Rig-veda, most of which are separated by an interval of several centuries, even from the Brāhmaṇas, that we must resort if we would discover how wide are the differences between the Sanskrit in its oldest known form and its most modern shape. In these hymns we find various forms of inflection and conjugation which are not to be traced in more modern writings, and numerous words which either disappear altogether in later authors, or are used by them in a different sense. These hymns are, in fact, by far the oldest parts of Indian literature. That this is the case, is proved by the whole nature and contents of the other portions of that literature which is connected with those hymns. The hymns are the essential part of the Veda; all the other writings which bear the name of Veda are dependent on the hymns, and subservient to their explanation or liturgical use. This may be made clearer by beginning with the most recent parts of the literature connected with the Vedas, and going gradually back to the oldest parts.

First. Two of the most recent commentators on the Vedas are Sāyaṇa Acharya, who lived in the fourteenth century A.D.,[131] and wrote a detailed commentary called Vedārthaprakāśa, on the whole of the Rig-veda; and Mahīdhara, who compiled a com-

[130] Thus *e. g.* any one who is familiar with modern Sanskrit will recognise in the passage cited from the Kaushītakī-brāhmaṇa in the First Part of this work (p. 114.) a dissimilarity of style. The separation of the particle *abhi* from the verb *abhavat*, in the phrase अभि सौदासान् अभवत्॥ "He became superior to the Saudāsas," is a remnant of the Vedic usage. In modern Sanskrit this preposition would not be thus severed from the verb.

[131] Professor Wilson's Rig-veda Sanhitā, Vol. I. Introduct. p. xlviii. Müller, Sanskrit Res. p. 137. Roth, Introd. to Nirukta, p. liii. refers Mahidhara (if not Sāyaṇa also) to the 16th century.

mentary entitled Vedadīpa on the Vajasaneyi Sanhitā of the Yajur-veda.

Second. In such works as these we find reference made to earlier writers on the Vedas, such as Śaunaka, the author of the Vṛihaddevatā, Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, and many others, with quotations from their works.

Professor Müller[132] divides the Vedic literature, properly so called, into four periods, which, in the inverse order of their antiquity, are the *Sūtra* period, the *Brāhmaṇa* period, the *Mantra* period, and the *Chhandas* period. The Chhandas period, during which the oldest hymns preserved in the Rig-veda collection were written, he supposes to have lasted from 1200 to 1000 B.C. Then followed the Mantra period, from 1000 to 800 B.C., in the course of which the more recent of the Vedic hymns were composed, and the whole were gathered together into one *Sanhitā* (or collection). Next in order was the Brāhmaṇa period, from 800 to 600 B.C., during which the chief theological and liturgical tracts bearing this title were composed and collected. And lastly, we have the Sūtra period, extending from 600 to 200 B.C. in which the ceremonial precepts of the earlier tradition were reduced, (by men who, however, were no longer, like their predecessors, regarded as inspired,) into a more tangible, precise, and systematic form than they had previously possessed. The works of this period were not all composed in the concise form of Sūtras, but some were in verse and others in prose.

Among the latter is the work of Yāska, who (as we have seen, p. 162,) is supposed by Professor Müller ("Sanskrit Researches," p. 137,) to have lived in the fourth century B.C. Yāska found an earlier work entitled Nighaṇṭu, made up of classified lists of Vedic, and partly obsolete words, existing in his day; to which he alludes in the following passage, at the very commencement of his work (i. 1.): **समाम्नायः समाम्नातः स**

[132] See his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," which has just appeared; pp. 70. 244. 249. 313. 445. 497. 572.

व्याख्यातव्यस्तमिमं समाम्नायं निघण्टव इत्याचक्षते॥ "A sacred record (*samāmnāya*) has been handed down, which is to be expounded. This is called the *Nighaṇṭavas*."[133]

And again (in i. 20.): साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुस्तेऽवरेभ्यो ऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन मंत्रान् सम्प्रादुः। उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तोऽवरे विद्ग्रहणायेमं ग्रन्थं समाम्नासिषु र्वेदञ्च वेदाङ्गानि च॥

"The ṛishis had an intuitive insight into duty. They, by tuition, handed down the mantras to subsequent preceptors, who were destitute of this intuitive perception. These later teachers, declining in the power of communicating instruction, have, for facility of comprehension, arranged this book (the Nighaṇṭu), the Veda, and the Vedāngas." This passage proves at once the priority of the Nighaṇṭu to the Nirukta, and also the still greater antiquity of the hymns which form the subject of explanation in both.[134]

[133] On this the commentator Durgāchāryya annotates as follows: स च [समाम्नायः] ऋषिभिर्मंत्रार्थपरिज्ञानायोदाहरणभूतः पञ्चाध्यायी शास्त्रसंग्रहभावेन एकस्मिन्नाम्नाये ग्रन्थीकृतः इत्यर्थः॥ "The sense is, that 'This sacred record which had been set forth by ṛishis as a specimen of the mode of explaining the sense of the mantras, has been formed into one collection in five chapters.'"

[134] Professor Roth in his Introduction to the Nirukta, p. xiii. remarks thus on this passage:—"Here Yāska ascribes the compilation of the small collection of words and names which forms the basis of his explanation, in an undefined way to an ancient tradition, not indeed dating from the earliest period, when faith and doctrine flourished without artificial aids, but from the generations next to that era, which strove by arrangement and writing to preserve the treasures which they had inherited. He further puts the Naighaṇṭuka in one class with the Vedas and Vedāngas. By the *composition* of the Vedas, which Yāska here places in the second period of Indian history, he cannot mean the production of the hymns transmitted by the ṛishis, which were always esteemed in India as the essential part of the Vedas, and were regarded in the same light by Yāska in the passage before us. All, therefore, that could be done by later generations was to arrange these hymns, and commit them to writing. We find here a recollection of a comparatively

The following are the remarks of Durgāchāryya, the commentator, on this passage (Nir. i. 20.):

साचात्कृतो यै धर्मः साचाद् दृष्टः प्रतिविशिष्टेन [?] तपसा। त इमे साचात्कृतधर्माणः। के पुनस्ते इति। उच्यते। ऋषयः। ऋषन्ति अमुष्मात् कर्मण एवमर्थवता मंत्रेण संयुक्तादमुना प्रकारेणैवंलक्षणफलविपरिणामो भवतीति ऋषयः। ऋषि र्दर्शनादिति वक्ष्यति। तदेतत्कर्मणः फलविपरिणामदर्शनमौपचारिक्या वृत्त्योक्तं साचात्कृतधर्माण इति। न हि धर्मस्य दर्शनमस्त्यत्यन्तापूर्वो हि धर्मः। आह। किं तेषामित्युच्यते। तेऽवरेभ्योऽसाचात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन मंत्रान् सम्प्रादुः। ते ये साचात्कृतधर्माणस्तेऽवरेभ्योऽवरकालीनेभ्यः शक्तिहीनेभ्यः श्रुतर्षिभ्यः। तेषां हि श्रुत्वा ततः पश्चाद् ऋषित्वमुपजायते न यथा पूर्वेषां साचात्कृतधर्माणां [sic.] श्रवणमन्तरैव। आह। किं तेभ्य इति। तेऽवरेभ्य उपदेशेन शिष्योपाध्यायिकया वृत्त्या मंत्रान् ग्रन्थतोऽर्थतश्च सम्प्रादुः सम्प्रत्तवन्तः। तेऽपि चोपदेशेनैव जगृहुः। अथ तेऽप्युपदेशाय ग्लायन्तः अवरे बिल्मग्रहणायेमं ग्रन्थं समाम्नासिषु र्वेदञ्च वेदाङ्गानि चेति। उपदेशाय उपदेशार्थं। कथं नाम उपदिश्यमानमेते शक्नुयु र्ग्रहीतुमिति एवमर्थमधिकृत्य ग्लायन्तः खिद्यमानाः तेभ्य[?]ग्रहीत्सु तदनुकम्पया तेषाम् आयुषः सङ्कोचमवेक्ष्य कालानुरूपाञ्च ग्रहणशक्तिं बिल्मग्रहणायेमं ग्रन्थं गवादिदेवपत्यन्तं समाम्नायवन्तः [sic.] किं मतमेतेनेत्युच्यते। वेदञ्च वेदाङ्गानि चेतराणीति। कथं पुनः समाम्नासिषुरिरि। आह। शृणु। वेदं

late reduction into writing of the mental productions of early ages, an event which has not yet attracted sufficient notice in its bearing upon the history of Indian literature."

तावदेकं सन्तम् अतिमहत्त्वाद् दुरध्येयमनेकशाखाभेदेन समाम्नासिषुः। सुखग्रहणाय व्यासेन समाम्नातवन्तः। ते एकविंशतिधा बाह्वृच्यं। एकशतधा आध्वर्यवं। सहस्रधा सामवेदं। नवधा आथर्वणं। वेदाङ्गान्यपि। तद् यथा। व्याकरणमष्टधा निरुक्तं चतुर्दशधा इत्येवमादि। एवं समाम्नासिषुर्भेदेन ग्रहणार्थं। कथं नाम। भिन्नान्येतानि शाखान्तराणि लघूनि सुखं गृह्णीयुरेते शक्तिहीना अल्पायुषो मनुष्या इत्येवमर्थं समाम्नासिषुरिति। विल्मशब्दं भाष्यवाक्यप्रसक्तं निर्ब्रवीति॥ यदेतद् विल्ममित्युक्तम् एतद् भिल्मं वेदानां भेदनं भेदो व्यास इत्यर्थः। भासनमिति वा। अथवा भासनमेव विल्मशब्देनोच्यते वेदाङ्गविज्ञानेन भासते प्रकाशते वेदार्थ इति। अत इदमुक्तं विल्ममिति। एवं भिदे भासते वा विल्मशब्दः। एवमिदम् ऋषिभ्यो निरुक्तशास्त्रमायातमितराणि चाङ्गानीति परिशोधित आगमः।

"They to whose minds duty was clearly present, *i. e.* by whom through eminent devotion it was intuitively seen, were the persons described by the term *sākshāt-kṛita-dharmāṇas.* Again, who were they? The ṛishis; who are called so because they *flow* (*ṛishanti*); because from a particular ceremony accompanied by a mantra of such and such import, in a certain way, such and such a reward results. And the author will afterwards declare that the word *ṛishi* comes from 'seeing,' (*darśanāt.*) Hence the faculty of seeing that such a reward springs from such a ceremony, is spoken of in a metaphorical way in the words, '*who have an intuitive view of duty:*' for duty cannot be seen, being something entirely invisible. But what of these ṛishis? 'They handed down the mantras by oral tuition to subsequent men, who had not the same intuitive perception of duty,' *i. e.* those ṛishis who had an intuitive perception of duty

handed down the mantras to subsequent men, *i. e.* to secondary ṛishis (*śrutarshis*) of a later age, and destitute of power; *ṛishis*, whose *ṛishihood* arose from what they had heard from others, and not *without hearing*, as was the case with those earlier ṛishis who had an intuitive perception of duty. What did these earliest ṛishis do? They handed down the mantras by tuition (viz., by the function of instructing their pupils) according to their text and meaning[135]; and the pupils received them through tuition. Then 'these later men, declining in their capacity to instruct, arranged this book and the Veda, and the Vedāngas, in portions, for facility of comprehension.' Declining, he means, in their knowledge of the best mode of rendering their instructions intelligible, grieved when their pupils did not understand, actuated by compassion towards them, and having regard to the shortness of their lives, and to their power of comprehension, which was reduced in correspondence with the times, they compiled this book [the Nighaṇṭu], beginning with '*gau*,' and ending with '*dēva-patnyas*,' in parts, for facility of comprehension. He next tells us what works he means; the Vedas, and the other Vedāngas. But how did they compile these works? He tells us: listen: By the agency of Vyāsa they arranged the Veda, (which being up to that period one, was difficult to study, from its extreme magnitude), in a number of different *Śākhās*, for the purpose of easier comprehension. The Rig-veda was arranged in 21 *śākhās*, the Yajush in 101, the Sāma in 1000, the Atharvana in 9: and similarly the Vedāngas; grammar in 8 books, the Nirukta in 14, and so on, in order that they might be apprehended in a divided state; *i. e.* that powerless and shortlived men might easily be able to understand these several *Śākhās*, when divided and of limited extent. He now explains the word '*bilma*,' . . . . . *Bilma*= *bhilma*, means the division of the Vedas, and division stands for arrangement. Or it means *bhāsanam*, elucidation; *i. e.* the

[135] So Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 522) renders *granthato arthataścha*, denying to the word *grantha* the sense of *written book*.

sense of the Vedas becomes clear from a knowledge of the *vedāngas*, or supplements to the Veda. Thus *bilma* is from the root *bhid*, or the root *bhās*. In this way this Nirukta Śāstra, and the other Vedāngas have descended from the ṛishis. Thus the scripture has been elucidated."

The Nighaṇṭu, the list of words which forms the subject of the preceding remarks, was prefixed by Yāska to his own work, the Nirukta, in which he endeavours to throw light on the obscurities of the Veda.[136] When this work of Yāska was written, and even at a much earlier period, it is evident that the sense of many of the Vedic words had been forgotten. This appears from the very fact of such works as the Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta being composed at all. For what occasion was there for compiling vocabularies of Vedic words, if the sense of these words had continued all along familiar to the students of the Vedas? The necessity for works like his own is argued by Yāska in the following passage (Nir. i. 15.)

**अथापीदमन्तरेण मंत्रेष्वर्थप्रत्ययो न विद्यते। अर्थमप्रतियतो नात्यन्तं स्वरसंस्कारौ दृश्यते इदं विद्यास्थानं व्याकरणस्य कार्त्स्न्यं स्वार्थसाधकञ्च।**

"Now without this work the meaning of the hymns cannot be understood; but he who does not comprehend their meaning, cannot thoroughly know their accentuation and grammatical

[136] "The Nighaṇṭu," says Professor Roth, (Introd. to Nirukta, p. lii.), "especially the second portion of it, was a collection of difficult and obsolete words, which formed a basis for instruction in the mode of expounding the Veda, such as was usually given in the schools of the Brahmans. At that period no need was felt of continuous commentaries; and in fact learning had not then become separated into so many branches. A memorandum of the terms denoting the ideas of most frequent occurrence in the Veda, and of the principal passages which required elucidation; a simple list of the gods and the objects of worship, such as we find in the Nighaṇṭu, sufficed as a manual for oral instruction. At a later era this manual became the subject of formal and written explanation. To this period belongs the Nirukta."

forms. Therefore, this department of science is the complement of grammar, and an instrument for gaining its object."[137]

The same thing is also clear from many passages in his work, in which he attempts to explain Vedic words by their etymologies,[138] (a process, often tentative, which would have been unnecessary if their meanings had been perfectly known), or in which he cites the opinions of different classes of interpreters who had preceded him, and who had severally propounded different explanations. This further shows that in Yāska's time the signification of the hymns had formed the subject of investigation

[137] This passage is translated by Roth, Nirukta, Erläuterungen, p. 11. And Sāyaṇa says in the Introd. to his Commentary on the Rig-veda, vol. i. p. 39. तस्माद् वेदार्थावबोधाय उपयुक्तं निरुक्तम्॥ "Hence the Nirukta is serviceable for the understanding of the meaning of the Veda."

[138] See Roth's Erläuterungen to Nirukta, p. 219. ff. "Vedic interpretation could impose on itself no greater obstruction than to imagine that the Indian commentators were infallible, or that they had inherited traditions which were of any value. Even a superficial examination shows that their plan of interpretation is the very opposite of traditional, that it is in reality a grammatical and etymological one, which only agrees with the former method in the erroneous system of explaining every verse, every line, every word by itself, without inquiring if the results so obtained harmonise with those derived from other quarters. If the fact that none of the commentators are in possession of anything more than a very simple set of conceptions regarding, *e. g*, the functions of a particular god, or even the entire contents of the hymns, which they are continually intruding into their interpretations, be regarded as a proof of their having inherited a tradition, it will at least be admitted that this poverty of ideas is not a thing which we have any reason to covet. In this set of conceptions are included those scholastic ideas which were introduced at an early period indeed, but not until the hymns had already become the subject of learned study, and the religious views and social circumstances on which they are based had lost all living reality. . . . . What is true of Sāyaṇa, or any of the other later commentators, applies essentially to Yāska also. He, too, is a learned interpreter, who works with the materials which his predecessors had collected, but he possesses an incalculable advantage, in point of time, over those compilers of detailed and continuous commentaries, and belongs to a quite different literary period; viz. to that when Sanskrit was still undergoing a process of natural growth.'

by learned men of different schools for many ages preceding. The following passage will illustrate this, as well as afford some insight into the subjects and manner of discussion at the period when he lived. In the Nirukta, i. 15, 16, he thus (in continuation of the passage last cited) alludes to the heretical opinions which had been entertained by his predecessor Kautsa, regarding the value of the hymns:

यदि मंत्रार्थप्रत्ययाय अनर्थकं भवतीति कौत्सः। अनर्थका हि मंत्राः। तदेतेनोपेक्षितव्यम्। नियतवाचो युक्तयो नियतानुपूर्व्या भवन्ति। अथापि ब्राह्मणेन रूपसम्पन्ना विधीयन्ते उरु प्रथस्वेति प्रथयति। प्रोहाणीति प्रोहति। अथाति अनुपपन्नार्था भवन्ति। ओषधे चायस्वैनम्। स्वधिते मैनं हिंसीरित्याह हिंसन्। अथापि प्रतिषिद्धार्था भवन्ति। एक एव रुद्रोऽवतस्थे न द्वितीयः। असंख्याता सहस्राणि ये रुद्रा अधि भूम्याम्। अश्चुरिन्द्र जज्ञिषे। शतं मेना अजयत् साकमिन्द्र इति। अथापि जानन्तं सम्प्रेष्यति। अग्नये समिध्यमानाय अनुब्रूहीति। अथाप्याह। अदितिः सर्वमिति। अदितिर्द्यौरदितिरन्तरिक्षमिति। तदुपरिष्टाद् व्याख्यास्यामः। अथापि अविस्पष्टार्था भवन्ति। अम्यग्। यादृङ्मिन्। जारयायि। काणुकेति। अर्थवन्तः शब्दसामान्याद्। एतद् वै यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद् रूपसमृद्धं। यत् कर्म क्रियमाणम् ऋग् यजुर्वाऽभिवदति इति च ब्राह्मणम्। क्रीलन्तौ पुत्रैर्नप्तृभिरिति। यथो एतद् नियतवाचो युक्तयो नियतानुपूर्व्या भवन्तीति लौकिकेष्वपि एतद् यथा इन्द्राग्नी पितापुत्राविति। यथो एतद् ब्राह्मणेन रूपसम्पन्ना विधीयन्ते इत्युदितानुवादः स भवति। यथो एतद् अनुपपन्नार्था भवन्ति इत्याम्नायवचनादहिंसा प्रतीयेत। यथो एतद् विप्रतिषिद्धार्था भवन्ति इति लौकिकेष्वपि एतद्

यथा असपत्नोऽयं ब्राह्मणः। अनमित्रो राजेति। यथा एतद् जानन्तं सम्प्रेष्यतीति। जानन्तमभिवादयते जानते मधुपर्कं प्राहेति। यथो एतद् अदितिः सर्वमिति। लौकिकेष्वप्येतद् यथा सर्वरसा अनुप्राप्ताः पानीयमिति। यथो एतद् अविस्पष्टार्था भवन्तीति। नैष स्थाणोरपराधो यदेनमन्धो न पश्यति। पुरुषापराधः स भवति। यथा जानपदीषु विद्यातः पुरुषविशेषो भवति पारोवर्यवित्सु तु खलु वेदितृषु भूयोविद्यः प्रशस्तो भवति॥

I will, in my translation, place the answers of Yāska opposite to the objections of Kautsa (though they are separated in the text) and thus economize space, as well as make the discussion clearer.[139]

*Kautsa objects.*

1. "If the science of interpretation is intended to make the sense of the mantras clear, it is useless, for the mantras have no sense."

*Yāska replies.*

1. "The mantras have a sense, for their words are the same (as those in the ordinary language). A Brāhmaṇa says, 'that is the perfect rite of sacrifice which is according to the form prescribed in a text. A *ṛich* or a *yajus* declares the ceremony to be performed.' (An example of the identity of the Vedic language with the ordinary speech) is this, '*krīlantau*,' &c., ('sporting with sons and grandsons').

[139] See Dr. Roth's translation of this passage in the first of his Abhandlungen, p. 21, and in his Erläuterungen to the Nirukta, pp. 11–13. There are, however, some parts of the passage of which I do not clearly understand the bearing.

But Kautsa's objections must be more closely examined."

2. "The propositions [in the hymns and texts], have certain fixed words, and a certain fixed arrangement;" [and so are mere arbitrary formulæ.?]

2. "This is the case in ordinary language also, *e. g. Indrāgnī, pitāputrau* ('Indra and Agni,' 'father and son.')"

3. "The mantras have the ritual forms to which they refer fixed and enjoined by the Brāhmaṇas [and, therefore, do not admit of critical exposiiton]: thus 'Spread thyself widely out;' and so he spreads; 'Let me pour out,' and so he pours."

3. "This is a mere repetition [by the *Brāhmaṇa*], of what had been already said [in the *mantra*:] (and consequently the latter must have had an ascertainable meaning.?]"

4. "They prescribe what is impracticable: thus, 'deliver him, O plant:' 'Axe, do not injure him,' thus he speaks while striking."

4. "According to the sacred tradition it must be understood that no injury is to be inflicted."

5. "Their contents are at variance with each other: thus, 'There exists but one Rudra, and no second;' and again, 'There are innumerable thousands of Rudras over the earth:' and, 'Indra, thou hast been born without a foe;' and again, 'Indra vanquished a hundred armies at once.'"

5. "The same thing occurs in ordinary language: thus, 'This Brahman is without a rival;' 'The king has no enemies.'"

6. "A person is enjoined to do an act with which he is already acquainted: thus, 'Address the hymn to the fire

6. "In the same way people are saluted by their names though they already know them; and the *madhuparka*,

which is being kindled.' [This is said by the adhwaryu priest to the hotṛi. Roth.] [140]"

7. "Again it is said; 'Aditi is everything; Aditi is the sky; Aditi is the atmosphere.'"

8. "The significatiòn of the mantras is indistinct, as in the case of such words as *amyak*, *yādṛiśmin*, *jārayāyi*, *kāṇuka*."

(a dish of curds, ghee and honey) is mentioned to those who are well acquainted with the custom."

7. "This will be explained further on. The same thing is said in common language, thus, 'All fluids, (or flavours), reside in water.'" [141]

8. "It is not the fault of the post, that the blind man does not see it. It is the man's fault. Just as in respect of local usages men are distinguished by superior knowledge; so too, among those learned men who are skilled in tradition, he who knows most is worthy of approbation."

Durga, the commentator, does not enter on a detailed explanation of this passage. He merely refers as follows to its general scope:—

अथापीदमन्तरेण पदविभागो न विद्यते। शास्त्रारम्भप्रयोजनाधिकारे वर्त्तमाने अथेदमन्तरेण मंत्रेष्वर्थावधारणं नास्तीत्युक्ते यदि मंत्रेत्यादिनाऽनर्थक्यहेतुभि र्बहुभिरानर्थक्ये उपपादिते निरुक्तशास्त्रस्य कौत्सेन मंत्राणाम् अर्थवत्तां स्थापयित्वा परपक्षहेतवः प्रत्युक्तास्तेषु स्थितमर्थवत्त्वं मंत्राणाम्।

[140] See Müller. Hist. of Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 472. note 1.

[141] Compare Raghu Vanśa, x. 16. रसान्तराण्येकरसं यथा दिव्यं पयोऽश्नुते॥ "As rain water, which has but one flavour, [when it has fallen] imbibes other flavours," &c.

तेषामर्थनिर्वचनाय इदमारभ्यमानम् अर्थवदित्युपपन्नमर्थवत्त्वं निरुक्तशास्त्रस्य। तदेतत् सर्वमपि चोदकशास्त्रकारव्याजेन प्रसक्तानुप्रसक्तमुक्तं प्रज्ञाया विवृद्धये शिष्यस्य। कथं नामासाववविवृद्धप्रज्ञः शब्दार्थन्यायसङ्कटेषु हेतुसमयानभिज्ञः परैः प्रतिबध्यमानोऽपि पदार्थान् वाक्यार्थांश्चासम्मोहेन निर्ब्रूयादिति॥

"The student being supposed to have an occasion and a right to enter on the study of this Śāstra, and the proposition having been laid down that without the Nirukta, the sense of the mantras cannot be understood, Kautsa adduces many reasons for declaring the mantras to have no meaning, and on these he grounds an assertion, that the Nirukta is useless. Yāska in reply states the reasons on the other side in support of the mantras having a meaning, which point he accordingly establishes. And as this work (the Nirukta), which is being commenced, is useful for the explanation of their meaning, its utility is demonstrated. Thus under the guise of an author who stimulates [inquiry by raising difficulties] an opportunity is taken of stating the arguments on both sides, with the view of increasing the student's intelligence. For how is that student, of immature intelligence, ignorant too of reasons and conclusions, when he encounters difficulties connected with the proper explication of words, and is even hindered by other persons, to explain without perplexity the meaning of words and sentences?"

It would seem from this that Durgācharyya looked upon Kautsa as being merely *a man of straw*, into whose mouth objections against the significance of the Vedas, were put by Yāska, in order that he might himself refute them. It does not, however, appear why Kautsa, whose name appears in the old genealogical lists of teachers in one of the Brāhmaṇas (Müller, Ancient Sansk. Lit. pp. 181. 442), should be viewed in the light of a fictitious "*Devadatta*," any more than any other of the numerous earlier writers referred to in the Nirukta. There seems to be no other reason than this, that Durga did not, perhaps, wish

his contemporaries to believe that there had been in early times any old grammarian who opposed the authority of the Vedas.

In Nirukta ii. 16., Yāska refers to the opinions of various former schools regarding the meaning of the word Vṛitra:—

तत् को वृत्रो मेघ इति नैरुक्ताः। त्वाष्ट्रोऽसुर इत्यैतिहासिकाः। अपाञ्चं ज्योतिषश्च मिश्रीभावकर्मणो वर्षकर्म जायते। तत्रोपमार्थेन युद्धवर्णा भवन्ति। अहिवत्तु खलु मंत्रवर्णा ब्राह्मणवादाश्च। विवृद्धो शरीरस्य स्रोतांसि निवारयाञ्चकार। तस्मिन् हते प्रस्रवन्दिर आपः॥

"Who was Vṛitra? 'A cloud,' says the Nairuktas: 'an Asura, son of Twashṭri,' say the Aitihāsikas. The fall of rain arises from the mingling of the waters and of light. This is figuratively depicted as a conflict. The hymns and Brāhmaṇas describe Vṛitra as a serpent. By the expansion of his body, he blocked up the streams. When it was destroyed, the waters flowed forth."

In Nir. iii. 8, he alludes to the views of older writers, regarding the Vedic word *panchajanah*;—पञ्चजना मम होत्रं जुषध्वं। गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसीत्येके। चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चम इत्यौपमन्यवः॥ "'Ye five classes of beings, frequent my sacrifice.' These five classes of beings are the 'Gandharvas, Pitṛis, Devas, Asuras and Rakshases,' say some: They are 'The four castes with the Nishādas for a fifth,' says Aupamanyava."

In Nir. viii. 22, Yāska thus speculates on the feelings which had led some of his predecessors to interpret certain Aprī hymns as addressed to other deities than Agni:—

आग्नेया वै प्रयाजा आग्नेया अनुयाजा इति च ब्राह्मणम्। छन्दोदेवता इत्यपरं छन्दांसि वै प्रयाजाश्छन्दांसि अनुयाजा इति च ब्राह्मणम्। . . . आत्मदेवता इत्यपरम् आत्मा वै प्रयाजा आत्मा वा अनुयाजा इति च ब्राह्मणम्। आग्नेया

इति स्थितिः। भक्तिमात्रमितरत्। किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते। यस्यै देवतायै हविर्गृहीतं स्यात् तां मनसा ध्यायेद् वषट्करिष्यन्निति ह विज्ञायते॥

"'The *prayājas* and the *anuyājas* (introductory and concluding sacrificial acts), have Agni for their deity,' says a Brāhmaṇa. Another opinion is that they have *chhandas* (metre) for their deity. For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'metres are the *prayājas* and *anuyājas*.' [After referring to three other opinions, similarly supported, Yāska goes on]: 'Another view is that they have soul for their deity, for a Brāhmaṇa says, 'soul is the *prayājas* and *anuyājas*.' I maintain the opinion that the hymns have Agni for their deity. The other views arise from mere devotion [to particular gods]. But why are these various views put forward? Because it is well known to be a precept that the person who is about to offer an oblation should meditate on the particular deity for whom it is intended."

In Nirukta xii. 1, he states the different views which had been put forward regarding the gods called Aświns:—अश्वैरश्विनावित्यौर्णवाभः। तत् कावश्विनौ। द्यावापृथिव्यावित्येके। अहोरात्राविति एके। सूर्यचन्द्रमसावित्येके। राजानौ पुण्यकृतावित्यैतिहासिकाः।

"'The Aświns are so called from their horses (*aśwais*),' says Aurṇavābha. But who are the Aświns? 'Heaven and earth,' say some; 'day and night,' say others: while others again say, 'The sun and moon.' 'They were virtuous kings,' say the Aitihāsikas."[142]

[142] See Roth's Erläut., pp. 220-221, for some remarks on these old interpreters of the Veda. "Older expounders of the Vedas in general are," he says, "called by Yāska simply Nairuktas; and when he notices any difference in the conception of the Vedic gods, those interpreters who take the euhemeristic view are called Aitihāsikas. In addition to the exposition of the Veda in the stricter sense, there existed also liturgical interpretations of numerous passages, such as we find in the Brāhmaṇas and other kindred treatises, in which it was attempted to bring the letter of the received text

In Nirukta xii. 19, he states the various expositions given of a passage regarding Vishṇu:—यदिदं किञ्च तद् विचक्रमे विष्णुः। त्रिधा निधत्ते पदं त्रेधाभावाय पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूणिः। समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरसीति और्णवाभः। "Vishṇu strode over all this space: thrice he plants his foot. This he does in order to his threefold existence, 'on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky,' says Śākapūṇi: 'At his rising, in the zenith, and at his setting,' says Aurṇavābha."

In Nir. xii. 41, we have another reference to the Brāhmaṇas:—अग्निनाऽग्निमयजन्त देवाः। अग्निः पशुरासीत्। तमालभन्त तेनायजन्तेति च ब्राह्मणम्। "The gods sacrificed to Agni (fire), with fire. 'Agni was the victim; him they seized, with him they sacrificed;' so says a Brāhmaṇa."

We thus see that in various passages of his work Yāska refers also to the Brāhmaṇas; they must therefore have been older than his time.

The following is a list of the writers whom Yāska quotes, as having preceded him in the interpretation of the Vedas:—Agrāyaṇa, Audumbarāyaṇa, Aurṇavābha, Kāṭṭhakya, Kautsa, Kraushṭuki, Gārgya, Gālava, Charmaśirās, Taiṭiki, Vārshyāyaṇi, Śatabalāksha the Maudgalya, Śākaṭāyana, Śākapūṇi, Śākalya, and Sthaulashṭivi.[143]

The subjoined passage from the 12th Sect. of the first Pariśishṭa

into harmony with the existing ceremonial. Such liturgical interpretations are called by Yāska those of the Yājñikas, or 'persons skilled in sacrificial rites.' Akin to theirs appears to have been the mode of interpretation adopted by the Naidānas. . . . . Under this head we must probably understand that method of explanation, which, differing from the grammatical etymologies, referred the origin of the words and conceptions to occasions which were in a certain sense historical. The Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads abound in such historical or mythological etymologies, which are to be found in all ages and among all nations; etymologies which their own inventors do not regard as serious, but which, from their connection with other ideas, obtain a certain importance in the religious system."

[143] Roth, Erläuter. pp. 221, 222.

or supplement to the Nirukta (considered by Professor Roth, Nir. ii. p. 208, to be the work of some author subsequent to Yāska), refers to the antiquity of the Mantras, and the qualifications necessary for expounding them.

अयं मंत्रार्थचिन्ताभ्यूहोऽभ्यूढोऽपि श्रुतितोऽपि तर्कतो। न तु पृथक्केन मंत्रा निर्वक्तव्याः प्रकरणश एव निर्वक्तव्याः। न ह्येषु प्रत्यक्षमस्त्यनृषेरतपसा वा। पारोवर्यवित्सु तु खलु वेदिदृषु भूयोविद्यः प्रशस्तो भवतीति उक्तं पुरस्तात्। मनुष्या वा ऋषिपूत्क्रामत्सु देवानब्रुवन् को न ऋषिर्भविष्यतीति तेभ्य एतं तर्कमृषिं प्रायच्छन् मंत्रार्थचिन्ताभ्यूहमभ्यूढम्। तस्माद् यदेव किञ्च अनूचानोऽभ्यूहति आर्षं तद् भवति॥

"This reflective deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of oral tradition and reasoning. The hymns are not to be interpreted as isolated texts, but according to their context. For a person who is not a *ṛishi* or a *devotee*, has no *intuitive insight* into their meaning. We have said before that among those men who are versed in tradition, he who is most learned deserves especial commendation. When the ṛishis were ascending [from the earth], men inquired of the gods, 'Who shall be our ṛishi?' The gods gave them this science of reasoning, to serve as a ṛishi, and to deduce by reflection the sense of the hymns. Therefore, whatever meaning any learned man deduces by reasoning, that possesses authority equal to a ṛishi's."

Here there is to be remarked a recognition of the necessity of reason as a co-factor, in the ascertainment of religious truth, or the definition of ceremonial practice. With this may be compared, the whole tendency of the Sānkhya doctrine, which is virtually, if not avowedly, founded on reasoning; and the assertion of Bhāskara (see above, p. 170, note), that in the mathematical sciences, scripture, if unsupported by demonstration, is of no authority.

The same confidence in the inherent force of the human in-

tellect is exhibited by Bhāskara in another place, in these memorable words: यदा पुनर्महता कालेन महदन्तरं भविष्यति तदा मतिमन्तो ब्रह्मगुप्तादीनां समानधर्मिण एव उत्पत्स्यन्ते। ते तदुपलब्ध्यनुसारिणीं गतिमुररीकृत्य शास्त्राणि व्याकरिष्यन्ति। अत एव गणितस्कन्धो महामतिमद्भि र्धृतः सन्ननाद्यनन्तेऽपि काले खिलत्वं न याति॥ "When, again, after a long period, there shall be a great distance [observable in the position of the stars], then intelligent men of like character with Brahmagupta and other mathematicians will arise, who, admitting a movement in consonance with observation, will compose treatises accordingly. Hence the science of astronomy, being maintained by men of great ability, shall never fail in time, though it has no beginning nor end." (See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. ii. 381.)

In the First Part of this work some passages have been already adduced from Yāska, regarding the origin of particular Vedic hymns which he explains. One of these texts relates to the Ṛishi Viśwāmitra, and another to the Ṛishi Devāpi. See Part First, pp. 124, and 143, 144.

Third. I now proceed to the Brāhmaṇas, to which we have been led back through the ascending series of more recent works, as the oldest expository writings on the Vedic hymns. They are consequently later than the hymns, the most ancient portion of Indian literature. But while the other explanatory and prescriptive books connected with the Vedas, such as the grammatical and ceremonial *Sūtras*, &c., are not regarded as having any independent divine authority, the Brāhmaṇas, on the contrary, are considered as a part of the Veda itself. This will appear from the following passages from Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Rig-veda: मंत्रब्राह्मणात्मकं तावद्दुष्टं लक्षणम्। अत एवापस्तम्बो यज्ञपरिभाषायामेवाह मंत्रब्राह्मणयो र्वेदनामधेयमिति।[144]

[144] Rig-veda, Müller's edition, vol. i. p. 4.

"The definition of the Veda, as consisting of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, is unobjectionable. Hence Āpastamba says, in the Yajna paribhāshā, 'Veda is the name applied to Mantra and Brāhmaṇa.'" Again: मंत्रब्राह्मणरूपौ द्वावेव वेदभागावित्यङ्गीकाराद् मंत्रलक्षणस्य पूर्वमभिहितत्वाद् अवशिष्टो वेदभागो ब्राह्मणमित्येतल्लक्षणं भविष्यति।[145] "It being admitted that there are two parts of the Veda, viz. Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, as the Mantra has been already defined, the definition of the Brāhmaṇa will be, that it is the remaining portion of the Veda."

In regard to the Sūtras and Smṛitis, the author of the Nyāya-mālā-vistara says:—

बौधायनापस्तम्बाश्वलायनकात्यायनादिनामाङ्किताः कल्पसूत्रादिग्रन्था निगमनिरुक्तषडङ्गग्रन्था मन्वादिस्मृतयश्चापौरुषेयाः। धर्मबुद्धिजनकत्वात्। वेदवत्। न च मूलप्रमाणसापेक्षत्वेन वेदवैषम्यमिति शङ्कनीयम्। उत्पन्नाया बुद्धेः स्वतः प्रामाण्याङ्गीकारेण निरपेक्षत्वात्॥ नैवम्॥ उक्तानुमानस्य कालात्ययापदिष्टत्वात्। बौधायनसूत्रम् आपस्तम्बसूत्रमित्येवं पुरुषनाम्ना ते ग्रन्था उच्यन्ते। न च काठकादिसमाख्यावत् प्रवचननिमित्तत्वं युक्तम्। तद्ग्रन्थनिर्माणकाले तदानीन्तनैः कैश्चिदुपलब्धत्वात्। तच्चाविच्छिन्नपारम्पर्येणानुवर्त्तते। ततः कालिदासादिग्रन्थवत् पौरुषेयाः। तथापि वेदमूलत्वात् प्रमाणम्॥ . . . नैवम्। कल्पस्य वेदत्वं नाद्यापि सिद्धम्। किन्तु प्रयत्नेन साधनीयम्। न च तत् साधयितुं शक्यम्। पौरुषेयत्वस्य समाख्यया तत्कर्त्तुरुपलम्भेन च साधितत्वात्॥

"Some persons have asserted that the Kalpa-sūtras and other works designated by the names of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Aśwalāyana, Kātyāyana, &c., and the Nigama, Nirukta, and six Vedāngas, together with the Smṛitis of Manu and others,

[145] Rig-veda, Muller's edition, vol. i. p. 22.

are superhuman, because they impart to men a comprehension of duty, like the Vedas; and that they are not to be suspected of dissimilarity to the Vedas, from the fact of their appealing to the authority of the original text; for the knowledge of duty which they impart is independent, because it is admitted to be self-evidencing. But this view is incorrect; for the inference in question is set aside by the lapse of time. These works are called by the names of men; as, 'the Sūtras of Baudhāyana,' 'the Sūtras of Āpastaṃba,' &c.; and these designations cannot properly be derived from the fact that these works were studied by those whose names they bear, as is actually the case in regard to the Kāṭhaka and other parts of the Veda: for it was known to some of their contemporaries at the time of the composition of these Sūtras and Smṛitis, &c., that they were then being composed: and this knowledge has come down by unbroken tradition. Hence, like the works of Kālidāsa and others, the books in question are of human origin. Nevertheless, from being founded on the Veda they are authoritative." . . . . And again: "It is not yet proved that the Kalpa-sūtras are part of the Veda; and it would require great labour to prove it; and, in fact, it is impossible to prove it. For the human origin of this book is established by its name, and by its being observed to have had an author." [146]

The Brāhmaṇas, however, as I have said, notwithstanding their antiquity, and the authority which is ascribed to them as a constituent part of the Veda, are very far indeed from being so old as the hymns. On the subject of these works Professor Roth makes some remarks in his Introduction to the Nirukta, p. xxiv. ff.; which I translate with some abridgments.[147]

"The difference in contents between the Brāhmaṇas and the

[146] On the difference in authority between the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras, &c., see Müller's "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 75-107.

[147] I refer for further information to Prof. Müller's section on the Brāhmaṇas in his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature;" particularly to pp. 342, ff., 389, 428, 429, 431—435.

Kalpa-books, if judged according to detached passages, might appear to be very small and indeterminate, though even at first sight it is undeniable that the two classes of writings are easily distinguishable as regards their position and estimation in the whole body of religious literature. In fact, the difference between them is most essential. Though both treat of divine worship in its widest extent, yet in the Brāhmaṇa it is the subject of description in quite a different sense from what it is in the Kalpa-śāstra. The object of the latter is to represent the whole course of the sacred rites which have a place in any particular department of worship, *e.g.*, it defines exactly which of the priests present at a ceremony has to perform a part at each point of the sacred rite. This is a very essential matter in Indian sacrifices. . . . . It is further prescribed in these works what hymns and invocations are to be uttered, and how. As a rule, however, the strophes are indicated only by the initial words, and pre-suppose other collections in which they must have been put together according to the order of their employment in worship. . . . . Finally, these works prescribe the time, the place, the forms, of the rites of worship, with all the preceding and following practices. In short, the Kalpa-books are complete systems of ritual prescription, which have no other object than to designate the entire course of the sacred ceremonial with all that accuracy which is demanded for acts done in the presence of the gods, and to their honour.

"The aim of a Brāhmaṇa is something very different. As its name indicates, its subject is the *brahma*, the *sacred element* in the rite, not the rite itself. Something holy, the conception of the Divine, lies veiled beneath the ceremony. It has now obtained a sensible form, which must, however, remain a mystery for those to whom that conception is unknown. He only who knows the Divinity, its manifestation and its relation to men, can explain the signification of the symbol. Such an explanation the Brāhmaṇa aims at giving; it proposes to unfold the essence of theological wisdom, which is hidden under the mode of

worship inherited from ancient times. From this cause arises the mysterious, concise, often dark, style of the language which we find in these books. They are, indeed, the oldest prose which is preserved to us in Indian literature.

"An example of these symbolical explanations is subjoined, from the beginning of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa: — At the commencement of certain sacrifices, clarified butter is offered to Agni and Vishṇu in eleven platters. This is done by preference to these two deities, the Brāhmaṇa explains, because they embrace the whole pantheon, Agni as the lowest of the gods, (the fire of the hearth and altar), and Vishṇu as the highest (the sun in the zenith); and thus sacrifice is offered to all the gods in the persons of these two. Eleven platters are presented, though there are only two gods; eight of the platters are claimed by Agni, because the gāyatrī, the metre sacred to him, has eight syllables; three platters belong to Vishṇu, because he traverses the heavens in three strides (the three stations of his rising, his culmination, and his setting).

"Such explanations may as frequently be the mere inventions of a religious philosophy (encountered by us here in its oldest form), which delights in bold parallels, and a pretentious exegesis, as actual recollections of the beginnings of the liturgy, in which, among a people like the Indians, we may reasonably expect to find delicate and thoughtful references. These books will always continue to be to us the most valuable sources for tracing the beginnings of thought on divine things; and, at the same time, sources from which we may draw the most varied information regarding the conceptions on which the entire system of worship, as well as the social and hierarchical order, of India, are founded. In proof of this, I will only refer to the lights which may be derived from the seventh and eighth books of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa on the position of the castes, and on the regal and sacerdotal dignities. The Brāhmaṇas are the *dogmatical books* of the Brahmans; not a scientifically marshalled system of tenets, but a collection of dogmas, as they result from religious prac-

tice. They were not written as a complete exposition of the principles of belief; but they are necessary towards such an exposition, because they were meant to explain and establish the whole customary ceremonial of worship.

"It is impossible not to perceive that the Brāhmaṇas are based upon a pre-existing, widely-ramified, and highly-developed system of worship. The further the practice of sacred institutions has advanced, the less distinctly are those who practise them conscious of their meaning. Gradually, around the central portion of the ceremony, which in its origin was perfectly transparent and intelligible, there grows up a mass of subordinate observances, which in proportion as they are developed in detail, become more loosely connected with the fundamental thought. The form, becoming more independent, loses its symbolical purport. The Indian worship had already reached such a stage, when the religious reflection exhibited in the Brāhmaṇas began to work upon it. Here, as in all the other religious systems of antiquity, the observation is verified that it is not religious dogmas, and reflection upon these, that give birth to forms of worship, but that it is religious worship, which (itself the product of religious feeling, inspired by, and become subservient to, a conception of the Divine), becomes, in its turn, the parent of a more developed and firmly defined theology. Such was the relation of the Brāhmaṇas to the current worship. The Brāhmaṇa does not appeal to the dicta of the sacred hymns as its own first and most immediate source, but rather rests upon the customary ceremonial, and upon the earlier conceptions of that ceremonial. The Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, for instance, from which I borrow details, appeals not only to authorities, (to whom written compositions are never ascribed,) such as the Ṛishi Śrauta (vii. 1); Saujāta, son of Arāḷha (vii. 22); Rāma, son of Mṛigū (vii. 34); Maitreya, son of Kushāru (viii. 38), &c., or to preceding sacrifices of the same kind; but further, the whole form of its representation is based upon the tradition of earlier custom. Its customary formula for this, which is continually recurring at the

head of a new passage, is *tadāhus*, 'it is further said,' or *atho khalv āhus*, 'it is moreover said;' and frequent reference is made to difference of opinions; 'so do or say the one set of persons, and the others otherwise.' But I have never met with a citation of an older writing.

"Taking all this into consideration, we may conclude that the Brāhmaṇas belong to a stage in the religious development of India when the Brahmanical faith was full-blown. Those religious conceptions and sacred usages, which, even in the hymns of the Rig-veda, we can see advancing from a simple and unconnected form to compact and multiform shapes, have now spread themselves over the entire life of the people, and, in the hands of the priests have become a power predominant over everything else."

It thus appears that the Brāhmaṇas, though they have come to be regarded as parts of the Veda, are yet in time far posterior to the hymns, and in fact could have had no existence or use without the latter, on which they are either directly or indirectly founded, and to which they allude in every page. Thus in the Brāhmaṇas we have such expressions continually recurring as, "Thus did the ṛishi say;"[148] "Hence this has been declared by the ṛishi;"[149] "Ṛishis of the Rig-veda have uttered this hymn of fifteen verses."[150] And Sāyaṇa has the following passage in reference to the priority of the Rig-veda (Comment. on R.-V., Introd., vol. i. p. 2.): तथाच सर्ववेदगतानि ब्राह्मणानि स्वाभिहितेऽर्थे विश्वासदार्ढ्याय तदेतद् ऋचाऽभ्युक्तमिति ऋचमेवोदाहरन्ति। "And so the Brāhmaṇas connected with all the Vedas, in order to strengthen belief in their assertions, refer to the Rig-veda, saying, 'This is declared by the Ṛich.'"

[148] इति ह स्माह ऋषिः॥

[149] Śatap.-br. xiii. 5. 4. 5: तस्मादेतद् ऋषिणाऽभ्यनूक्तम्॥

[150] Weber's Hist. of Ind. Lit., p. 118. Böht. & Roth Dict. *sub voce* Ṛishi तदेतद् बह्वृचः पञ्चदशर्चं प्राऊः॥

The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, in a passage at p. 1052. of Weber's edition (corresponding with the Vṛihadāranyaka-upanishad, p. 213), refers as follows to a hymn of Vāmadeva in the fourth mandala of the Rig-veda: तद्धैतत् पश्यन्नृषिर्वामदेवः प्रतिपेदे अहं मनुरभवम्। "Wherefore the ṛishi Vāmadeva in vision obtained this text, 'I was Manu.'" Again, the Kaushitaki-brāhmaṇa refers to Vasishṭha, in a passage already quoted in the First Part of this work, p. 114. Now, as Vasishṭha was a Vedic ṛishi, the author of numerous hymns, this Brāhmaṇa must have been later than those hymns. I may refer also to the Śādyayana and Tāṇḍaka Brāhmaṇas, as quoted in Part First, p. 115, to prove the same point.

To illustrate the manner in which the hymns are quoted in the Brāhmaṇas, I will only cite further a portion of the passage from the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, relating the story of Śunaḥśepa, which is given in original in the Appendix to Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 581, 582: अथ ह पुनःशेप ईक्षाञ्चक्रे। अमानुषमिव वै मा विशसिष्यन्ति हन्ताहं देवता उपधावामीति स प्रजापतिमेव प्रथमं देवतानामुपससार "कस्य नूनं कतमस्यामृतानाम्" इत्येतया ऋचा। तं प्रजापतिरुवाच अग्निर्वै देवानां नेदिष्ठस्-मेवोपधावेति। सो ऽग्निमुपससार "अग्ने वयं प्रथमस्यामृतानाम्" इत्येतया ऋचा॥ [When he saw the preparations made for his immolation] "Śunaḥśepa reflected, 'They are about to slay me, as if I were not a man. I shall resort to the gods.' He accordingly addressed himself to Prajāpati, the first of the gods, with this *ṛich*, (Rig-veda i. 24. 1.) 'Of whom now, of which of all the immortals,' &c. Prajāpati said to him, 'Agni is the nearest of the gods, resort to him.' He addressed himself to Agni with this *ṛich*, (Rig-veda i. 24. 2.) 'Of Agni, the first of the immortals,' &c." In the same way he is represented as addressing to various deities in succession the verses composing the remainder

of the 24th, and the whole of the 25th, 26th, and 27th hymns of the First Book of the Rig-veda, ending with the last verse of the 27th sūkta: "Salutation to the great! Salutation to the little!" addressed to the Viśve-devāḥ.[151]

That the Brāhmaṇas were separated from the hymns by a considerable interval of time, is manifest from the various considerations which are urged in the passage just quoted (pp. 191—5) from Professor Roth; who informs us, for instance, that the Brāhmaṇas, besides alluding to texts in the hymns, appeal on the subject of the ritual to various preceding unwritten authorities; and states his opinion, that the "Brāhmaṇas belong to a stage in the religious development of India, when the Brahmanical faith was full-blown;" and that "those religious conceptions and sacred usages which, even in the hymns of the Rig-veda, can be seen advancing from a simple and unconnected form to compact and manifold shapes, have now [in the Brāhmaṇas] extended themselves over the entire life of the people." This process was no doubt one which required several centuries for its accomplishment.

And Professor Müller says, (Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 432. 434.) "There is throughout the Brāhmaṇas such a complete misunderstanding of the original intention of the Vedic hymns, that we can hardly understand how such an estrangement could have taken place, unless there had been at some time or other a sudden and violent break in the chain of tradition." And again: "Every page of the Brāhmaṇas contains the clearest proof that the spirit of the ancient Vedic poetry, and the purport of the original Vedic sacrifices were both beyond the comprehension of the authors of the Brāhmaṇas . . . . we thus perceive the wide chasm between the Brāhmaṇa period and that period by which

[151] नमो मह्द्भ्यो नमो अर्भकेभ्यः See Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 413, ff: Prof. Roth's Article in Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 461: Prof. Wilson's Article in Jour. R. A. S. vol. xiii. 100, and translation of the Rig-veda, i. pp. 59-71.

it is preceded." The Brāhmaṇa period we have already seen (p. 173 above), is placed by him in the 200 years following the second Vedic period, that of the Mantras.

As time still passed on, and a further development of language and institutions took place, the Vedic hymns became less and less intelligible; and owing to the growth of formal and scrupulous ceremonial prescriptions, the application of the sacred texts to public worship became more and more difficult. As a natural consequence, the literature connected with the explanation of the Mantras, their pronunciation and their ritual uses, continued to augment. Then the different grammatical Pratiśakhya aphorisms, the Śrauta and Gṛihya ritual Sūtras, the Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta were composed. These works, as we have already seen, were the growth of several successive ages subsequent to the date of the oldest Brāhmaṇas.[152]

[152] On this subject Professor Roth remarks (Introd. to Nirukta, p. lii.) as follows:—"In Greece a similar state of things prevailed. There, with the exception of Hesiod (who never rose to the same degree of consideration), Homer was the only source of the highest knowledge, and preeminently the book of the schools;—the book which gave the first occasion to grammatical, and almost every other sort of science to develope itself. In India the Veda occupies the place of Homer. It was to the Veda that the Brahmanical people looked as the sole repository of intellectual culture. As a sacred book it was the more naturally a subject of research to the learned man, as he was at the same time a priest, and it became the first problem to be solved by grammar,—a science which was far more commonly studied, and at an earlier period attained a far higher stage, in India than in Greece. At the same time, the Veda, both as regards its language and its subject matter, stood far further removed from the Indian of the two centuries immediately preceding Buddha (700 and 600, B.C.)—in which the sacerdotal system reached its climax—than Homer did from the Greek of the Periclean era. At that period, or even earlier, were formed the collection of Homeric words which had become obsolete,—the γλωσσαι; while in India, the *nighaṇṭavas* (a word which I conceive to be identical in meaning with γλωσσαι) had been compiled to illustrate the Veda. In both cases the collections had the same origin; but in the short interval from Pericles to the end of the Alexandrian era, the Greeks had done more for the explanation of Homer than the Indians could accomplish for the comprehension of the Veda, in the long

Fourth. When at length we ascend above the oldest of the Brāhmaṇas and arrive at the still more ancient collections (*Sanhitās*, as they are called in Sanskrit) of the Vedic hymns themselves, we shall find even here distinct proofs of a difference of age not only between the several collections viewed as aggregates, but also between different component parts of the same compilations. Of the four Vedic Sanhitās, the Rik, Yajush, Sāman, and Aṭharvan, the Rig-veda is by far the most complete and important collection. Before, however, proceeding to give some account of its contents, I must premise a few words about the other Sanhitās.

(i.) Although the Vedas were originally considered to be only three in number, and the Atharvan was not denominated a Veda, yet many of the hymns or incantations of which it is made up appear to be of great antiquity.[153]

That the title of the Atharvan to be reckoned as one of the Vedas is not so incontestable as that of the three others, will

series of ages down to the time of Sāyaṇa and Mahīdhara, in the 16th century A.D. The task of the Indians was, in truth, by far the more difficult; and besides, Indian scholarship lay under an incapacity of unfettered movement. It was necessary for orthodoxy to deny the facts of history, and to discover only the circumstances of the present in the monuments of antiquity; for the present was both unable and unwilling to rest on any other foundation than the traditions of an earlier age, surrounded as these were with a halo of glory, and only half understood. The priesthood supplied the required authentic explanation, *without* which the reader of those ancient books would never have found in them that which he so easily discovered *with* that assistance. The spirit of the nation, which had been so injuriously treated, became accustomed to the yoke, and henceforward walked onwards in the track which had been marked out for it; men's feeling for history became irrecoverably lost, and they consoled themselves with the harmless enjoyment which was still allowed them, of solving grammatical questions. We can therefore, at least, boast, by way of compensation, on behalf of the Indians, that they have far outstripped the Greeks in the department of grammar."

[153] See, on the subject of this Veda, Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 38, 446 ff., Weber's Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 10., and Mr. Whitney's papers in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 305 ff., and iv. 254 ff.

appear from the following considerations. It is not mentioned in the ninth verse of the Purusha Sūkta (R.-V. x. 90,) quoted in Part First of this Work, p. 7, 8.

The same omission is noticeable in the following passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad[154]: प्रजापतिर् लोकान् अभ्यतपत्। तेषां तप्यमानानाँ रसान् प्राबृहद् अग्निं पृथिव्या वायुम-न्तरिक्षाद् आदित्यं दिवः। स एतास्तिस्रो देवता अभ्यतपत्। तासां तप्यमानानाँ रसान् प्राबृहद् अग्नेर् ऋचो वायोर् यजूँषि सामादित्यात्। स एतां त्रयीं विद्यामभ्यतपत्। तस्यास्तप्यमा-नाया रसान् प्राबृहद् भूरित्यृग्भ्यो भुवरिति यजुर्भ्यः स्वरिति सामभ्यः॥ "Prajāpati burnt [or meditated upon] the worlds; and from them, so burnt, he drew forth their essences, Fire from the earth, Air from the atmosphere, the Sun from the sky. He burnt these three deities; and from them so burnt he drew forth their essences: Rik-texts from Fire, Yajush-texts from Air, and Sāma-texts from the Sun. He burnt this triple science; and from it so burnt, he drew forth its essences, the particle *Bhūḥ* from the Rik-texts, *Bhuvaḥ* from the Yajush-texts, and *Swar* from the Sāma-texts."

A similar passage occurs in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, xi. 5. 8. 1. In the following verse (i. 23.), Manu repeats the account given in the Chhāndogya Upanishad: अग्निवायुरविभ्यस्तु त्रयं ब्रह्म सनातनम्। दुदोह यज्ञसिद्ध्यर्थम् ऋग्यजुःसामलक्षणम्॥ "From Fire, Air, and the Sun, he drew forth (milked) for the accomplishment of sacrifice the eternal triple Veda, distinguished as Rik, Yajush, and Sāman."

It is not, however, to be denied that the Atharvan is mentioned in other passages as a Veda: as *e. g.* in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, xiii. 4. 3. 7 and 8, p. 984.[155] Madhusūdana Sarasvati,

[154] Chhāndogya Upanishad in Biblioth. Ind. p. 288.

[155] See Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 38.

author of the Prasthāna-bheda, while he calls it a Veda, notices at the same time its difference in character from the other three. स च (वेदः) प्रयोगचयेण यज्ञनिर्वाहार्थम् ऋग्यजुःसामभेदेन भिन्नः . . . अथर्ववेदस्तु यज्ञानुपयुक्तः शान्तिपौष्टिकाभिचारादिकर्मप्रतिपादकत्वेन अत्यन्तविलक्षण एव। "The Veda is divided into Rik, Yajush, and Sāman, for the purpose of carrying out the sacrifice under its three different forms. . . . The Atharva Veda, on the contrary, is totally different. It is not used for the sacrifice, but only teaches how to appease, to bless, to curse, &c." (Müller, Sansk. Lit. p. 445.) In regard to this Veda, Mr. Whitney remarks: "The Atharva is, like the Ṛik, a historical and not a liturgical collection." It was, he thinks, originally composed of only eighteen books. A sixth of the matter of which these books consist is not metrical. "Of the remainder, or metrical portion, about one sixth is also found among the hymns of the Ṛik, and mostly in the tenth book of the latter; the rest is peculiar to the Atharva . . . . The greater portion of them are plainly shown, both by their language and internal character, to be of much later date than the general contents of the other historic Veda, and even than its tenth book, with which they yet stand nearly connected in import and origin. The condition of the text also in those passages found likewise in the Ṛik, points as distinctly to a more recent period as that of their collection. This, however, would not necessarily imply that the main body of the Atharva hymns were not already in existence when the compilation of the Ṛik took place. Their character would be ground enough for their rejection and exclusion from the canon, until other and less scrupulous hands were found to undertake their separate gathering into an independent collection. The nineteenth book is . . . made up of matter of a like nature which had either been left out when they were compiled, or had been since produced." (Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Society, iv. 254, 255.) The priority of the Rig-veda to the Atharva may also be argued from the fact that the ṛishis

of the hymns in the Rig-veda are referred to in the Atharva-veda as men of an earlier period; in proof of which I may refer to the passages quoted in the First Part of this work, (p. 131, notes 50 and 51.) It is true that the same thing is noticeable to some degree in the Rig-veda itself, in some later hymns of which the ṛishis of earlier hymns are referred to by name. In the Atharva-veda, however, the names so specified are chiefly those of the more recent ṛishis, while many of the personages referred to in the Rig-veda appear to belong to a more primitive age. (See Roth's Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, p. 13.) In the former Veda, too, the Indian institutions appear in a somewhat more developed state than in the Rig-veda. There is one point at least in which this development is visible, viz. in the caste system. The following extract from Weber's "History of Indian Literature," (p. 10,) will exhibit his opinion of the general difference which exists between the Rig-veda and the Atharva-veda: "The origin of the Atharva-sanhitā falls within the period when Brahmanism had become dominant. . . . . Many of the hymns which it contains are to be found also in the Rik-sanhitā, but there they are recent interpolations originating in the period when its compilation took place, while in the Atharva collection they are the just and proper expression of the present. The spirit of the two collections is entirely different. In the Rik there breathes a lively natural feeling, a warm love for nature; while in the Atharva, on the contrary, there predominates an anxious apprehension of evil spirits and their magical powers: in the Rik we see the people in the exercise of perfect freedom and voluntary activity, while in the Atharva we observe them bound in the fetters of the hierarchy and of superstition."

(ii.) The Sama-veda is a collection of separate texts to be chanted at particular parts of the sacrifice;[156] which with the exception of a very few are all to be found in different parts of the Rig-veda, especially the 8th and 9th Mandalas. In the

[156] See Müller, pp. 472—3.

Rig-veda we find the entire hymns; in the first part of the Sāma-veda we find only isolated verses of those hymns, dislocated from their natural connection, though in the second part the extracts are connected, and of greater length. It is not, however, quite clear whether the Sāma collection or the Rik collection may have been first made. Weber remarks (Hist. of Ind. Lit. pp. 9, 62), that the texts of the Sāma-veda frequently exhibit more ancient grammatical forms than those of the Rig-veda, and suggests that as the former contains no extracts from any of the later hymns of the latter, it may have been compiled before these later pieces had been composed; but adds that this point has not been yet investigated. Whitney also leaves the question undecided. (Journ. Am. Or. Society, iv. 253, 254.)

Müller, on the other hand, says (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 457.) "The other two Sanhitās were more likely the production of the Brāhmaṇa period. These two Vedas, the Yajur-veda and the Sāma-veda were, in truth, what they are called in the Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa, the attendants of the Rig-veda."[157] He supposes that the hymns found in the three Vedas were not "collected three times by three independent collectors. If so, their differences would have been greater than they are." Their actual differences are rather those of Śākhās or branches, he thinks, than of independent Sanhitās or collections.

(iii.) Both the Sanhitās of the Yajur-veda are collections of sacrificial formulas in prose, as well as of verses which are partly extracted from the Rig-veda. Many parts of the Yajur-veda exhibit a more advanced development of religious ideas and observances than the Rig-veda. Professor Weber, the editor of this Veda, considers (Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 10), that it "belongs to a period when the Brahmanical element had already become predominant, though it was still exposed to strenuous opposition; and when at all events, the Brahmanical hierarchy and the system of castes had been completely formed." The same writer

[157] तत्परिचरणाद्वितरौ वेदौ॥ vi. 11.

tells us (pp. 106, 107), that "the 30th book of the Vajasaneyi-sanhitā of the Yajur-veda, in enumerating the different classes of men who are to be consecrated at the Purusha-medha, or Human Sacrifice, refers to the names of most of the Indian mixed castes, so that we may thence conclude that a complete consolidation of the Brahmanical system had taken place." The Vājasaneyi-sanhitā is divided into forty Adhyāyas or sections, of which Weber thinks (Hist. of Ind. Lit. pp. 103, 104), that those from the 19th to the 25th may be later than the first eighteen; while there is, he remarks, no doubt that the last fifteen Adhyāyas are later, and perhaps much later, than the rest of the collection. This is proved by this portion of the Sanhitā being called a *Khila*, or supplement, both in the anukramaṇī or index, which is ascribed to Kātyāyana, and also in Mahīdhara's Commentary on the Veda.[158] A further proof of the posteriority in date of the last parts of the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā is derived from the fact that they are not found in the Sanhitā of the Black Yajur-veda, but only in its Brāhmaṇa or in its Âraṇyaka parts, which by their very character are in date subsequent to the Sanhitā (p. 104.) Weber is further of opinion (pp. 44, 105, and 106), that the names (Iśāna and Mahādeva) assigned to the god Rudra in Adhyāya 39, in addition to those by which he is designated in Adhyāya 16, (where he is regarded as the divinity of fire, though addressed by many of the epithets which were subsequently applied to the god Śiva,) indicate a more advanced stage in the worship of the deity in question at the time when Adhyāya 39 was composed, than at the period when Adhyāya 16 was written. Professor Müller thinks that "there is nothing to prove that the hymn book of the Vājasaneyins [the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā] existed previous to their Brāhmaṇa" [the Śatapatha.] Sansk. Lit. p. 360.

[158] The words of Mahīdhara at the commencement of the 26th adhyāya are as follows: इदानीं खिलान्युच्यन्ते॥ "The Khilas are now to be explained." See also Müller's Sansk. Lit. p. 358.

(iv.) We come now to the Rig-veda-sanhitā, which contains the most extensive collection of the most ancient Vedic hymns in their complete form. It is divided into ten mandalas, and contains in all 1017 hymns (Müller, p. 497.) "The Vedas," says Mr. Whitney, (Journ. Am. Or. Soc., iii. 295), "contain the songs in which the first ancestors of the Hindū people, at the very dawn of their existence as a separate nation, while they were still only on the threshold of the great country which they were afterwards to fill with their civilisation, praised the gods, extolled heroic deeds, and sang of other matters which kindled their poetical fervour.[159] . . . The mass, as it lies before us, is almost exclusively of a religious character; this may have had its ground partly in the end for which the collections were afterwards made, but it is probably in a far higher degree due to the character of the people itself, which thus shows itself to have been at the beginning what it continued to be throughout its whole history, an essentially religious one . . . . Hymns of a very different character are not entirely wanting, and this might be taken as an indication that, had they been more numerous, more would have been preserved to us."[160] These hymns are said, by later Indian writers, to have been "seen" by the ancient *ṛishis* or bards. Thus the Nirukta says, (ii. 11.): **ऋषिर्दर्शनात्। स्तोमान् ददर्शेति औपमन्यवः। तद् यदेनाँस्तपस्यमानान् ब्रह्म स्वयम्भ्वभ्यानर्षत् त ऋषयोऽभवन्। तद् ऋषीणाम् ऋषित्वमिति विज्ञायते॥** "'A ṛishi is so-called from seeing. He saw the hymns:'—This is Aupamanyava's explanation. They became ṛishis, because Brahma, the self-existent, approached them when they were sunk in devotion. From this, as is generally understood, they acquired their character of ṛishis." There is, however, no doubt

[159] See also, for an account of the contents of the hymns, Professor Wilson's Introduction to his translation of the Rig-veda, p. xxiv. ff.

[160] Dr. Aufrecht remarks (Ind. Studien. iv. 8.) that "possibly only a small portion of the Vedic poems may have been preserved to us in the Ṛik-sanhitā.

that the ṛishis were themselves the proper authors of these ancient songs, which they addressed to the gods when they were solicitous to obtain any blessing; or composed on other occasions. The scope of these hymns or mantras is well summed up in the following passage from the Anukramaṇi (index) to the Rig-veda, quoted by Mr. Colebrooke (Misc. Ess. i. p. 26.) अर्थेष्वव ऋषयो देवताश्छन्दोभिरभ्यधावन्॥ "The ṛishis, desiring [various] objects, hastened to the gods with metrical prayers." It is also said in the Nirukta, vii. 1.: यत्काम ऋषि र्यस्यां देवतायाम् अर्थपत्यमिच्छन् स्तुतिं प्रयुङ्क्ते तद्दैवतः स मंत्रो भवति॥ "The hymn has for its deity the particular god to whom the *ṛishi, seeking to obtain any particular object which he longs for*, addresses his praises."

For many ages the successive generations of these ancient ṛishis continued to make new contributions to the stock of hymns, while they carefully preserved those which had been handed down to them by their forefathers.[161] The fact of this

[161] "The Indian Aryas were disposed to piety both by their natural character, and by the institutions of Manu. They were sustained in these sentiments by the chiefs of certain families in which their religious traditions had been more especially preserved. In those primitive ages the political system was precisely the same as that which Homer depicts; — kings the veritable shepherds of their people; cultivators or herdsmen united around their chiefs, and prepared, whenever necessity arose, to transform themselves into warriors; numerous flocks and a profusion of rural wealth; towns which were only large villages. Some of these villages served as retreats to renowned sages, who, while their dependants were tending their fields and flocks, were themselves engaged in the cultivation of sacred science, in the company of their sons, or their pupils, and fulfilled the functions of a Calchas or a Tiresias to some Indian Agamemnon or Œdipus in their neighbourhood. Invited by the chiefs to perform sacrifice, they arrived with their sacred retinue; they ascended the mountain where an enclosure of lattice-work had been constructed; for temples were then unknown. There, beneath the vault of heaven, they recited their hereditary songs, or a newly-composed hymn; they invoked the grand agents in nature to grant success to the labours of the field, increase to the flocks, and a succession of brave

successive composition of the hymns is evident from the ancient index *(anukramaṇi)* to the Rig-veda, as continually quoted in the commentary of Sāyaṇa, which shows that these compositions are ascribed to different generations of the same families, as their "seers." For example, some of the hymns of the 3rd mandala are assigned to Gāthi, the father of Viśwāmitra, others to Viśwāmitra himself, others to Ṛishabha, his son, others again to Kaṭa, his descendant, and others to Utkila, of the race of Kaṭa. Here we have the "seers" of hymns extending over five generations or more. The same fact, viz. that a long interval elapsed between the composition of the different hymns, is manifest from various passages in these compositions themselves. Thus the 2nd verse of the first hymn of the 1st mandala of the Rig-veda, is to the following effect: अग्निः पूर्वेभि र्ऋषिभिरीड्यो नूतनैरुत। स देवाँ एह वक्षति॥ "Let Agni, who is to be worshipped by the former ṛishis, and by the recent ones, bring hither the gods."[162]

and virtuous descendants. They implored, they threatened their gods; and when the sacred rites had been scrupulously performed, they retired loaded with gifts, carrying away cows, horses, and cars filled with provisions, gold, and precious stuffs. We see thus by what fortune these hymns have been preserved, forming as they did, a patrimony to certain families, a species of productive capital, which it was their interest to turn to the very best account. Composed on certain recognised and venerable themes, and sometimes retouched and renovated by the imagination of a new bard, they grew old, as they were transmitted from age to age, bearing on them, sometimes, the date of their composition, which was indicated by the name of the inspired author, or of some generous prince." Langlois, French translation of Rig-veda, Vol. I. pref. pp. x. xi. See also Mr. Whitney's remarks in the Journal of the Am. Or. Soc. iv. 249.

[162] The comment of Yāska on this passage (Nirukta vii. 16) is as follows: अग्निर्यः पूर्वै र्ऋषिभिरीलितव्यो वन्दितव्योऽस्माभिश्च नवतरैः स देवानिहावहत्विति॥ "Let Agni, who is to be worshipped, reverenced, by the former ṛishis, and by us the more modern ones, bring the gods hither." Sāyaṇa annotates thus on the passage: अयमग्निः पूर्वेभिः पुरातनै र्भृग्वङ्गिरःप्रभृतिभिरीड्यः स्तुत्यो नूतनैरुतेदानीन्त-

There are many other verses alluding to a difference of antiquity in the hymns and their authors. Such are the following (R.-V. i. 48. 14): **ये चिद्धि त्वामृषयः पूर्वे जतये जुह्वरे॥** "The former ṛishis who invoked thee for succour," &c. (R.-V. i. 62. 13.) **सनायते गोतम इन्द्र नव्यमतक्षद् ब्रह्म हरियोजनाय॥** "Nodhas, son of Gotama, has fabricated this new prayer to thee, O India, who art eternal, and yokest thy coursers," &c.[163] (R.-V. iii. 32. 13.) **यः स्तोमेभि र्वावृधे पूर्व्येभि र्यो मध्यमेभिरुत नूतनेभिः॥** "Who [Indra] has grown through praises, ancient, middle, and modern."[164] (R.-V. vi. 44. 13.): **यः पूर्व्याभिरुत नूतनाभि र्गीर्भि र्वावृधे गृणतामृषीणाम्॥** "He [Indra] who has grown by the ancient and modern hymns of the ṛishis who praised him." (R.-V. vii. 22. 9.): **ये च पूर्वे ऋषयो ये च नूना इन्द्र ब्रह्माणि जनयन्त विप्राः॥** "O Indra, the wise ṛishis, both ancient and modern, have generated prayers." (R.-V. x. 23. 6.): **स्तोमं ते इन्द्र विमदा अजीजनन् अपूर्व्यं पुरुतमं सुदानवे॥** "The Vimadas have generated,[165] O Indra, for thee, the beneficent, a copious hymn, before unheard."

In the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā of the Yajur-veda, (xviii. 52.) we meet with the following text: **इमौ नु पक्षावजरौ पतत्रिणौ याभ्यां**

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**नैरस्माभिरपि स्तुत्यः।** "This Agni, who is to be worshipped, *i. e.* celebrated, by the former, *i. e.* the ancient ṛishis, Bhṛigu, Angiras, and the rest, and by the recent, *i. e.* the present [ṛishis], ourselves also," &c.

[163] **नव्यं नूतनं ब्रह्म एतत्सूक्तरूपं स्तोत्रं नोऽस्मदर्थमतक्षद् अकरोत्॥** Sāyaṇa. "Fabricated *i. e.* made for us this new *Brahma*, *i. e.* praise in the form of this *sūkta*." The same verb *taksh* is also applied to the composition of hymns in R.-V. i. 109. 1.; ii. 19. 8; and vi. 32. 1.

[164] **पुरातनैः। मध्ये भवैः। अस्माभिः क्रियमानैरधुनातनैः स्तोत्रैः॥** "Praises ancient, intermediate, and formed by us at present." This verse is referred to by Müller, p. 482.

[165] The verb *ajijanan*, "generated," as applied to hymns, also occurs in R.-V. viii. 77. 4., and viii. 84. 5. See also Sāma-veda, ii. 108, 109, and 1059, with Benfey's translation and note, p. 245.

रक्षांस्यपहंस्यग्ने। ताभ्यां पतेम सुकृतामु लोकं यत्र ऋषयो जग्मुः प्रथमजाः पुराणाः॥ "But these undecaying feathered pinions, with which, O Agni, thou slayest the Rakshases, with them let us ascend to the world of the righteous, whither the earliest-born ancient ṛishis have gone."[166] The writer of this verse was himself a ṛishi, and it is clear, according to his statement, that long before his time other ṛishis had gone to the regions of the blessed."

And in the Rig-veda we find references made in numerous hymns to earlier ṛishis (who themselves are yet declared by later writers to have been authors of hymns included in the same Veda) having been delivered by the gods in ancient times. Thus Atri, the author of several Vedic hymns (37. 38. 39. 40. 43. 85. and 86. of the 5th Mandala), Kaṇva, the author of hymns 37—43 of the 1st Mandala, and Vasishṭha, the author of the greater part of the 7th Mandala, are spoken of in several other hymns, *e.g.* in Mandala i. 112. 7, 9. 16.; i. 117. 3. 8.; i. 118. 7., as if they belonged to an earlier age.

The descendants of the most celebrated ṛishis, would, no doubt, form complete collections of the hymns which had been composed by their respective ancestors. After being thus handed down, with little alteration, in the families of the original authors for several centuries, during which many of them were continually applied to the purposes of religious worship, these hymns, which had been gathering an accumulated sanctity throughout all this period, were at length collected in one great body of sacred literature, styled the *Sanhitā*, of the Rig-veda —a work which in the Purāṇas is assigned to Vedavyāsa, and one of his pupils.[167]

[166] On this the Commentator annotates: प्रथमजाः प्रथमोत्पन्नाः पुराणाः पुरापि नवा अजरामरा ऋषयो यत्र लोके जग्मुः॥ "The world whither the ṛishis, *first-born*, *i. e.* earliest-produced: *ancient*, *i. e.* even in former times, young; imperishable, and immortal, have gone."

[167] "I suppose that at different and unknown epochs, on the invitation of

As the process of hymn composition continued thus to go on for many centuries, it was likely that the collection, when finally completed, would contain many comparatively new hymns, written just before the canon was closed. Even after this latter event took place we find that some hymns were composed which must have had some pretensions to a sacred character, as, though not admitted into the canon of the Rig-veda, they are found copied as Khilas or later additions, at the end of some of the sections in the manuscripts of that work; and some passages from them are, as Professor Müller informs me, inserted in the other three Vedas, and are enjoined by Aśvalāyana to be employed on particular occasions, in the ceremonial of sacrifice. Whether or not these Khilas are the oldest extant compositions after those included in the Vedic collections, (and their style shows them not to be all so,) they must at least, from the position which they have gained of the Vedic apocrypha, be regarded as a link connecting the Vedic hymns with the later parts of Indian literature.

The hymns in the Rik-sanhitā which bear the most modern character, and which from their age stand chronologically nearest to the Khilas just alluded to, are (according to Professor Müller, p. 484.) those in which reference is made to a complicated ceremonial, to a great variety of priests with different functions and appellations, or in which the liberality of royal patrons to the sacerdotal class is the theme of celebration. One composition of which the modern character is acknowledged by all critics, is the so-called Purusha Sūkta, the 90th hymn of the 10th Mandala (quoted in pp. 6—11 of the First Part of this

some prince, learned and pious persons must have been charged to collect the hymns composed for the use of the several sacerdotal families, and to arrange them in a certain order consistent with the maintenance of the texts. When we observe the spirit which has directed these collectors, we can comprehend how there should be so many repetitions both in the ideas and the words. The ancient bards had borrowed from each other many thoughts which the compilers of different eras have scrupulously reproduced." Langlois, French translation of Rig-veda, Vol. I. pref. p. xiii.

work), which Mr. Colebrooke[168] characterizes in the following terms:—

"That remarkable hymn is in language, metre, and style, very different from the rest of the prayers with which it is associated. It has a decidedly more modern tone; and must have been composed after the Sanskrit language had been refined, and its grammar and rhythm perfected. The internal evidence which it furnishes, serves to demonstrate the important fact that the compilation of the Vedas, in their present arrangement, took place after the Sanskrit tongue had advanced from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the Vedas was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and profane, (*purāṇas* and *cāvyas*,) have been written." (See also the remarks made on this hymn by Professor Müller, Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 571.) The last named author thinks it is a mistake to regard any hymn as modern, merely from the presence in it of philosophical ideas. But I must refer to his own work, pp. 556, ff., for a statement of his views on this point.

The sketch which I have now given of Sanskrit literature shows that we can trace it back, by a series of almost continuous links, up to the period of its rise.[169] If the Vedic hymns cannot be connected immediately with the literature which follows next after them, they are at least separated from it by no very distant interval; and they are evidently the natural product of the same fertile Indian mind which afterwards gave birth to the Brāh-

[168] Miss. Ess. i. 309, note.

[169] It may, perhaps, be thought that this subject has been treated at a length disproportioned to the purpose which I have immediately in view, viz. to trace the mutations of the Sanskrit language. But a full exhibition of the character and antiquity of the Vedic hymns, and of the relation in which they stand to the other parts of Indian literature, will be found to form a necessary basis for various other discussions which will appear in the sequel of this work, and I have deemed the present a convenient opportunity for its introduction.

maṇas, the Upanishads, the Darśanas, and the different epic and mythological poems.

In the Rig-veda we possess, as has been already remarked, a collection of hymns which were composed during many successive generations, but its most ancient portions constitute the earliest of all the extant remains of Indian authorship, and not only display to us the Sanskrit language in the oldest phase in which we can ever see it exhibited, but also afford us some of the most authentic materials which we can ever obtain for our researches into the earliest history, religious and political, of the Indian people, and into their pre-historical relations with the other branches of the Indo-European family.

Fifth. If any further proof be wanted of the greater antiquity of the Vedic hymns, as compared with the other books esteemed more or less sacred by the Hindus, as for instance, the epic poems and the Purāṇas, it may be found in the great difference between the mythological systems which are discoverable in these two classes of works respectively. As I hope to return to this subject in a future part of this work, I must content myself with a very summary notice of it at present. The following extracts from Professor H. H. Wilson's introduction to the first volume of his translation of the Rig-veda, pp. xxvi. xxvii. will give some idea of the difference to which I allude:—

"The next question is, who are the gods to whom the praises and prayers [in the Rig-Veda] are addressed? And here we find also a striking difference between the mythology of the *Rig-Veda* and that of the heroic poems and *Purāṇas*. The divinities worshipped are not unknown to later systems, but they there perform very subordinate parts, whilst those deities who are the great gods—the *Dii majores*—of the subsequent period, are either wholly unnamed in the *Veda*, or are noticed in an inferior and different capacity. The names of ŚIVA, of MAHĀDEVA, of DURGĀ, of KĀLĪ, of RĀMA, of KRISHṆA, never occur, as far as we are yet aware: we have a RUDRA, who, in after times, is identified with ŚIVA, but who, even in the *Purāṇas*, is of very

doubtful origin and identification, whilst in the *Veda* he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either AGNI or INDRA; the epithet KAPARDDIN,[170] which is applied to him, appears, indeed, to have some relation to a characteristic attribute of ŚIVA,—the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid; but the term has probably in the *Veda* a different signification —one now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in after-time the appearance of ŚIVA in such a head-dress, as identified with AGNI; for instance, KAPARDDIN may intimate his head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation; at any rate, no other epithet applicable to ŚIVA occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India—that of the *Linga* or *Phallus:* neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism, the *Trimūrtti*, or Tri-une combination of BRAHMĀ, VISHṆU, and ŚIVA, as typified by the mystical syllable *Om*, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the *Trimūrtti* was the first element in the faith of the Hindus, and the second was the *Lingam*."—Creuzer, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, book i. chap. i. p. 140.

Even so late as the time when the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa was composed, the names afterwards appropriated to Mahādeva were applied to Agni, as appears from the following passage, i. 7. 3. 8. p. 70:— अग्निर्वै स देवस्तस्यैतानि नामानि शर्व इति यथा प्राच्या आचक्षते भव इति यथा बाह्लीकाः। पशूनां पती

[170] [This epithet occurs in the following passage, verse i. of *Sūkta* 114 Mandala 1st.:—

इमा रुद्राय तवसे कपर्दिने क्षयद्वीराय प्र भरामहे मतीः
यथा शमसद् द्विपदे चतुष्पदे विश्वं पुष्टं ग्राम अस्मिन्ननातुरं॥

*i. e.* "We offer these praises to the mighty Rudra, with the braided hair, the destroyer of heroes, in order that health may be enjoyed by bipeds and quadrupeds, and that all beings in this village may be (well nourished, and exempt from disease."—J. M.]

रुद्रो ऽग्निरिति तान्यस्याशान्तान्येवेतराणि नामानि। अग्निरित्येव शान्ततमम्॥ "Agni is a god. These are his names, viz., *Sarvva*, as the eastern people call him, and *Bhava*, as the Bāhīkas. 'The lord of animals,' (*paśūnām patis*), and the 'terrible Agni,' (*rudro 'gnis*); these are his other and ill-omened names. Agni is his mildest appellation." (See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 189. ii. 19-22. 37. 302; the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, vi. 1. 3. 10-17., ix. 1. 1. 1, 2, and Jour. Am. Or. Soc. iii. 319.)

Again, in p. xxxiv. of his Introduction, Professor Wilson says, in regard to Vishṇu:—"There is no separate hymn to Vishṇu, but he is mentioned as Trivikrama, or he who took three steps or paces, which Mr. Colebrooke thought might have formed the groundwork of the *Paurāṇik* legend of the dwarf *Avatār*. It may have been suggestive of the fiction; but no allusion to the notion of *Avatārs* occurs in the *Veda*, and there can be little doubt that the three steps here referred to are the three periods of the sun's course—his rise, culmination, and setting."[171] The passage here alluded to by Professor Wilson is as follows: Rig-veda i. 22. 16-21:—

अतो देवा अवन्तु नो यतो विष्णु र्विचक्रमे। पृथिव्याः सप्त धामभिः[172]। इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे त्रेधा निदधे पदं। समूळ्हमस्य पांसुरे॥ त्रीणि पदा विचक्रमे विष्णु र्गोपा अदाभ्यः। अतो धर्माणि धारयन्॥ विष्णोः कर्माणि पश्यत यतो व्रतानि पस्पशे। इन्द्रस्य युज्यः सखा॥ तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यंति सूरयः। दिवीव चक्षुराततं॥ तद्विप्रासो विपन्यवो जागृवांसः समिंधते। विष्णोर्यत् परमं पदं॥

"May the gods preserve us from that (place) whence Vishṇu,

[171] "It is expressly so stated by Durgāchāryya, in his commentary on the Nirukta.—See Burnouf, Introduction to the 3rd vol. of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, p. xxii."

[172] Instead of *sapta dhāmabhis*, the Sāma-veda ii. 1024, reads *adhi sānavi*, "over the surface."

strode across (?) the seven regions of the earth. Vishṇu traversed this (world): thrice he planted his foot, and the world was enveloped in his dust. Vishṇu, the preserver, the uninjurable, stepped three steps, upholding thereby righteous acts. Behold the deeds of Vishṇu, from whom the worthy friend of Indra has received the sacred ceremonies. The wise ever contemplate that supreme station of Vishṇu, placed like an eye in the sky. The wise, ever vigilant and diligent in praise, amply glorify that which is the supreme station of Vishṇu."—(See Wilson's translation, pp. 53-54; and Benfey's translation of the Sāma-Veda, pp. 223, and 287; and his glossary, p. 191, under the word *sapta:* see also, Rig-veda ix. 114. 3.)

The remarks of Yāska on this passage have been already quoted above (p. 187.) The following is the note of the commentator, Durgāchāryya, on Yāska's explanation of the above passage of the Rig-veda:—

विष्णुरादित्यः। कथमिति यत आह त्रेधा निदधे पदम् निधत्ते पदम् निधानं पदैः [?]। क्व तत्र तावत्। पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूणिः॥ पार्थिवोऽग्निर्भूत्वा पृथिव्यां यत्किञ्चिदस्ति तद्विक्रमते तदधितिष्ठति अन्तरिक्षे वैद्युतात्मना दिवि सूर्यात्मना॥ यदुक्तम् तमू अक्तखन् त्रेधा भुवे[?]कमिति॥ समारोहणे उदयगिरावुद्यन् पदमेकन्निधत्ते॥ विष्णुपदे मध्यन्दिने ऽन्तरिक्षे॥ गयशिरस्यस्तंगिरावित्यौर्णनाभ आचार्यो मन्यते॥

"Vishṇu is the Sun. How? Because he says, 'thrice he planted his foot.' Where did he do so? 'On the earth, in the firmament, and in the heaven,' says Śākapūṇi. Becoming terrestrial fire, he paces or resides a little upon the earth, in the shape of lightning in the firmament, and in the form of the sun in heaven. As it is said, 'they triply divided him, placing a part on earth [?].' &c. Aurṇanābha Ācharyya thinks the meaning is 'He plants one step on the *Samārohaṇa* (point of ascension), when rising over the eastern mountain, (another) at noon on the

*Vishṇupada*, the meridian sky, (a third) on *Gayaśiras*, when setting beneath the western hill.'"

Any one who has the slightest acquaintance with the later Hindu mythology will perceive at once how widely different these Vedic representations are from the Puranic accounts of Śiva and Vishṇu. Such changes as these, in the conception of the gods, must have been the work of ages. Here, therefore, we have another proof of the great antiquity of the Vedic hymns as compared with the other portions of Indian literature.

Sixth. How different the Sanskrit of the Vedic age was in many of its forms from those which the later Sanskrit assumed, and still retains, may be seen from the subjoined specimens taken from the Rig-veda:—

Rig-veda, i. 2. 1. with modern Sanskrit interpretation underneath:

Vedic text. वायवायाहि दर्शत इमे सोमा अरंकृताः। तेषां पाहि
Modern Sanskrit. वायवायाहि दर्शनीय इमे सोमा अलंकृताः। तेषां पिव
Vedic text. श्रुधि हवम्॥
Modern Sanskrit. शृणु हवम्॥
"Come, O Vayu, these somas are prepared. Drink of them; hear our invocation."

Here it will be observed that four Vedic words, *darśata*, *aranḳritāḥ*, *pāhi*, *śrudhi* differ from the modern Sanskrit forms.

Rig-veda, i. 3. 7:

Vedic text. ओमासश्चर्षणीधृतो विश्वे देवास आगत। दाश्वांसो
Modern Sanskrit. रक्षका मनुष्यधृतो विश्वे देवा आगच्छत। दातारो
Vedic text. दाशुषः सुतम्॥
Modern Sanskrit. दातुः सुतम्॥
"O Viśwe devas, preservers of men, bestowers [of rewards], come to the libation of him who gives you [oblations]."

Here the Vedic forms *ōmāsaḥ*, *devāsaḥ* and *āgata* stand for *ōmāḥ*, and *devāḥ*, and *āgachchhata*.

Rig-veda, vii. 35. 5.:

Vedic text. वसिष्ठस्य स्तुवत इन्द्रो अश्रोद् उरुं हत्सुभ्यो अकृणोद्
Modern Sanskrit. वसिष्ठस्य स्तुवत इन्द्रो अशृणोद् उरुं हत्सुभ्यो अकरोद्

Vedic text. उ लोकम्॥
Modern Sanskrit. उ लोकम्॥

"Indra heard Vasishṭha when he uttered praise, and opened up a wide space to the Tritsus." (See Part I. p. 122. note 29.)

Here we have the Vedic forms *aśrot* and *akṛinot*, for the modern *aśṛinot* and *akarot*.

This fact of the frequent diversity between the Vedic and ordinary Sanskrit, is recognized, in every page of his work, by the great grammarian Pāṇini. I will quote one of the Sūtras, in which he refers to some instances of this, together with the illustrations given in the Vārttika: (vii. 2. 64.) बभूथाततन्थ जगृम्भ ववर्थेति निगमे॥ दृत्येतानि वेदे निपात्यन्ते। भू। होता प्रथमो बभूथ। बभूविथेति लोके। तनु। येनान्तरिक्षमुर्वाततन्थ। आतेनिथेति लोके। ग्रह। जगृम्भा ते दक्षिणमिन्द्र हस्तम्। जगृहिमेति लोके। वृञ्। ववर्थ त्वं हि ज्योतिषा। ववरिथेति लोके॥ "The exceptional forms *babhūtha, ātatantha, jigṛimbha* and *vavartha* are employed in the Veda instead of the ordinary forms, *babhūvitha, ātēnitha, jagṛihima*, and *vavaritha*; as in the texts, 'thou *wast* the first priest,' 'whereby thou *didst stretch out* the wide firmament,' 'we have *seized*, O Indra, thy right hand,' 'thou *didst envelope* with light.'"

In Sutra, vi. 4. 102, other instances are alluded to of grammatical forms, which are peculiar to the Veda, viz. the imperatives *śrudhi* for *śriṇu*, 'hear;' *kṛidhi* for *kuru*, 'do;' *vṛidhi* for *vriṇu*, 'cover;' *pūrdhi* for *pṛiṇihi*, 'fill.'

In the Vivaraṇa of Nāgesa Bhaṭṭa on the Mahābhāshya, the following reference is made to certain forms which are employed in the Veda only: एवञ्च वेदमात्रान्तर्गतकर्णेभिर्देवासो गृभणामीत्याद्यनिरिक्तपरता लौकिकशब्दस्य तैस्सङ्व्यवहारादर्शनात्॥ "The term 'secular' (*laukika*) refers to words different from such as *karṇebhiḥ* (for *karṇaiḥ*), *devāsaḥ* (for *devāḥ*), and *gṛibhṇāmi* (for *gṛihṇāmi*), which are to be found in the Veda alone, for we never see them employed by secular people."

I extract the following Vedic forms of conjugating the roots कृ "to do," and गम् "to go," from Böhtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit Dictionary:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vedic forms. | कर्षि | अकर् | अक्रन् | कृधि |
| | करसि | अकरस् | अक्रण्वन् | कर |
| | कृणोषि | अकृणोस् | | कृणु, कृणुहि |
| Ordinary forms. | करोषि | अकरोस् | अकुर्वन् | कुरु |
| Vedic forms. | आगथ | गम्यास् | गम्यात् | आगहि |
| Ordinary forms. | आगच्छथः | गच्छेस् | गच्छेत् | आगच्छ |
| Vedic forms. | आगन्तु | अगन् | अगमन् | गमन्त् |
| Ordinary forms. | आगच्छतु | अगच्छत् | अगच्छन् | गच्छन् |

No philologist will suppose, from these differences in form which we discover to exist between the Vedic and the later Sanskrit, that the one language was different from the other. A great portion of the substance, and much of the form of the language, was the same at both periods: a part of the Vedic roots and nouns only have in later times fallen into disuse; and the peculiar Vedic varieties of form are merely the ancient modes of inflection which were in common currency at the time when the hymns were composed, and which gradually became obsolete in the course of ages.[173] Some of them, however, continued for a

[173] The following is Professor Whitney's account of the differences between the Vedic and the modern Sanskrit:

"The language of the Vedas is an older dialect, varying very considerably, both in its grammatical and lexical character, from the classical Sanskrit. Its grammatical peculiarities run through all departments: euphonic rules, word-formation and composition, declension, conjugation, syntax . . . . . [These peculiarities] are partly such as characterize an older language, consisting in a greater originality of forms, and the like, and partly such as characterize a language which is still in the bloom and vigour of life, its freedom untrammelled by other rules than those of common usage, and which has not like the [modern] Sanskrit, passed into oblivion as a native

long time in popular use, as we find in the case of the form of the instr. pl. *ēbhis* for *ais*, which we meet with unchanged in the Gāthās of the Lalita Vistara, (see the instances given above, in p. 129), and somewhat modified in the Pali forms *ebhi* and *ehi*.

As the hymns of the Veda were the compositions of the ancient Indian ṛishis or bards, who, as we have seen above, (p. 206.) frequently speak of having "fashioned," or "generated" them, they could not possibly have been composed in any other language than that which these ṛishis and their contemporaries were in the habit of using for every-day conversation.

There are, no doubt, in the hymns some apparent traces of an idea that the authors were inspired; as in the following texts: R.-V. i. 37. 4: ब्रह्म देवत्तं गायत॥ "Sing the god-given prayer."[174] R.-V. i. 109. 1: नान्या युवत् प्रमतिरस्ति मह्यं स वां धियं वाजयन्तीमतक्षम्। 2. . . . अधा सोमस्य प्रयती युवभ्यामिन्द्राग्नी

spoken dialect, become merely a conventional medium of communication among the learned, being forced, as it were, into a mould of regularity by long and exhausting grammatical treatment. . . . The dissimilarity existing between the two, in respect of the stock of words of which each is made up, is, to say the least, not less marked. Not single words alone, but whole classes of derivations and roots, with the families that are formed from them, which the Veda exhibits in frequent and familiar use, are wholly wanting, or have left but faint traces, in the classical dialect; and this to such an extent as seems to demand, if the two be actually related to one another directly as mother and daughter, a longer interval between them than we should be inclined to assume, from the character and degree of the grammatical, and more especially the phonetic, differences."—*Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc.* iii. 296, 297.

[174] It is not, however, certain that the word *brahma*, in this verse, means "prayer." In the Nighaṇṭu, ii. 7, 10, it is explained as signifying "food," or "wealth;" and Sāyaṇa, in his interpretation of the passage, seems to adopt the former of these two senses. His words are: ब्रह्म हविर्लक्षणमन्नमुद्दिश्य प्रगायत स्तुध्वम्॥ "Offer praise in reference to *brahma*, *i. e.* the sacrificial food." On the other hand, the word is used in the sense of "hymn" in R.-V. i. 62. 13; and vii. 22. 9, cited above p. 206.

स्तोमं जनयामि नव्यम्॥ "From no other but you, (O Indra and Agni) do I derive intelligence: to you have I fabricated a hymn for sustenance.[175]. . . While presenting the soma, I generate for you a new hymn, O Indra and Agni." In R.-V. x. 71, it is said of the goddess Vāch: यज्ञेन वाचः पदवीयम् आयन् ताम् अन्वविन्दन् ऋषिषु प्रविष्टाम्॥ "By sacrifice they followed the path [?] of Vāch: they found her residing in the *ṛishis*."

In R.-V. x. 125. 5. again, Vāch is made to say: अहमेव स्वयमिदं वदामि जुष्टं देवेभिरुत मानुषेभिः। यं कामये तं तमुग्रं कृणोमि तं ब्रह्माणं तमृषिं तं सुमेधाम्॥ "I myself declare this, which is desired both by gods and men. Every man whom I love, I make him terrible; [I make] him a priest; [I make] him a *ṛishi*; [I make] him intelligent."[176]

In a Vālakhilya (or apocryphal hymn) which is to be found inserted between the 48th and 49th hymns of the 8th mandala of the Rig-veda, the following verse occurs:

इन्द्रवरुणा यद् ऋषिभ्यो मनीषां वाचो मतिं श्रुतम् अदत्तमग्रे। यानि स्थानान्यसृजन्त धीरा यज्ञं तन्वानास्तपसाऽभ्यपश्यम्॥

For the complete text of this verse I was first indebted to Professor Müller, who supplied also the following version of it: "Indra and Varuṇa, I have seen through devotion that which, after it was heard in the beginning, you gave to the poets — wisdom, understanding of speech; and I have seen the (sacred) places which the sages created in performing the sacrifice."[177]

[175] धियं ध्यानेन निष्पन्नां स्तुतिमतक्षम् अकार्षम्॥ "I have fabricated, *i.e.* made, a hymn, *i.e.* a song of praise, composed by meditation." (Sāyaṇa.)

[176] Vāch thus appears partly, though not entirely, in the character of a Muse. Compare what Homer says of Demodocus, Odyssey viii. 63, 64:

Τὸν περὶ Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε,
Ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἡδεῖαν ἀοιδήν.

[177] If the word *śrutam* in this verse be taken as a substantive, the translation would run thus, "I have seen through devotion that which

Though, however, some traces of an idea that the *ṛishis* were inspired by the gods, by Vāch, or Indra and Agni, or Indra and Varuṇa, (but not, in any of the passages which I have here quoted, by Brahmā, who in later times was regarded as the source of inspiration,) may thus be detected in the Rig-veda, there is no doubt, on the other hand, that these ancient bards generally speak of the hymns as the creation of their own minds: and it is impossible to admit that they were anything else. But as even an inspired composition, to be generally intelligible, must be delivered in the language current among the people to whom it is first promulgated, there is no pretence for supposing that the Sanskrit of the Vedas was not the vernacular language of the age in which they were first recited.

At that early period there was no language current among the Aryas but the Vedic Sanskrit. A learned language, different from the spoken tongue, was a thing then unknown; and the refinements of grammar had no existence. This may be gathered from the following passage of an ancient Brāhmaṇa, referred to by Sāyaṇa in the introduction to his commentary on the Rig-veda, p. 35: तथा चैन्द्रवायवग्रहब्राह्मणे समाम्नायते। वाग् वै पराच्यव्याकृताऽवदत्। ते देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन्निमां नो वाचं व्याकुर्विति। सोऽब्रवीद् वरं वृणै मह्यं चैवैष वायवे च सह गृह्याता इति तस्मादैन्द्रवायवः सह प्रगृह्यते। तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत्। तस्मादियं व्याकृता वागुद्यत इति। अग्निमीळे पुरोहितमित्यादि वाक् पूर्वस्मिन् काले पराची समुद्राद्रिध्वनिवद् एकात्मिका सती अव्याकृता प्रकृतिः प्रत्ययः पदं वाक्यमित्यादि विभागकारिग्रन्थरहितासीत्। तदानीं देवैः प्रार्थित इन्द्र एकस्मिन्नेव पात्रे वायोः स्वस्य च सोमरसस्य ग्रहणरूपेण वरेण तुष्टस्तामखण्डां वाचं मध्ये विच्छिद्य प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादिभागं सर्वत्राकरोत्।

ye formerly gave to the *ṛishis*, wisdom, understanding of speech, *tradition*," &c.

तस्मादियं वागिदानीमपि पाणिन्यादिमहर्षिभिर्व्याकृता सर्वैः पद्यत इत्यर्थः॥ "It is thus related in the *Aindra-Vāyava-graha-brāhmaṇa:* 'Vāch (speech) spoke confusedly, and without articulation. The gods said to Indra, Make this Vāch to become articulate to us. Indra replied, Let me choose a boon; let the soma be given to me and Vāyu together. Hence the soma of Indra and Vāyu is taken together. Indra then, stepping into the midst, divided speech in sunder. Hence she is spoken articulately.' The sense of this quotation, says Sāyaṇa, is this: Speech, such as in the verse *Agnim īḷe purohitam*, &c. (the first verse of the Rig-veda), was originally confused *i. e.* unvaried like the roar of the sea, &c., and undistinguished, *i. e.* without articulation to denote crude forms, inflections, words, and sentences, &c. Then Indra, being solicited by the gods, and gratified by the permission to take the soma-juice in the same vessel with Vāyu, divided speech, which had previously been without division, and introduced everywhere the distinction of crude forms, inflections, &c. In consequence, this speech, being now distinguished in its parts by Pāṇini and other great sages, is pronounced by all men."

It may be asked, however, If the Vedic Sanskrit was once the spoken language of India, how did it ever cease to be spoken. To this I reply as follows:—

By the time when the collections of the Vedic hymns were formed, the Sanskrit, the vernacular speech of the ṛishis and their descendants, had undergone a considerable alteration, which had gradually resulted, as we have already seen, both from the general laws of change to which all language is subject, and also from the action of local causes, such as the intercourse of the Aryas, or Sanskrit-speaking race, with the Dasyus, or Mlechhas, who spoke a quite different tongue. In this way, words which had formerly been commonly employed in Sanskrit, became obsolete, or acquired new meanings, while other new words, borrowed from the dialects of the Mlechhas, were introduced into currency; and forms of inflection which were once

current got gradually into disuse, and made way for other novel forms. Thus a twofold alteration was produced in the ancient Indian language (the Sanskrit of the Vedas). First, the Prakrit or vernacular dialects were formed out of it in the manner which has already been described (pp. 80, 143, ff., 148, 154); and secondly, a learned language, based upon the Sanskrit of the Vedas, but variously modified (see pp. 151, 152) and polished, was gradually constructed by grammarians, which being removed from the corrupting influences of popular use, has thenceforward continued unchanged (p. 171)."

When the process of change had been going on for many generations, the Vedic hymns became exceedingly difficult to understand. The obstacles to comprehension, arising from these intermediate changes of language, were greatly augmented by the obscure and elliptical style in which the hymns were originally composed, which rendered it hard for the men of subsequent ages to understand the brief allusions to ancient ideas, practices, and events with which they abound.

These considerations will sufficiently account for the difficulty which was experienced in the comprehension of the Vedic hymns in later ages, without there being the least necessity for our supposing that they were composed in a language at all different from that which was ordinarily current in India, among the common people of the Arya race, at the time of their composition.

# CHAPTER II.

## AFFINITIES OF THE INDIANS WITH THE PERSIANS, GREEKS, AND ROMANS, AND DERIVATION OF ALL THESE NATIONS FROM CENTRAL ASIA.

FROM the preceding review it is clear that the Sanskrit language has been undergoing a continual change, from the very earliest times up to which we can follow its course. But if this be the case, it would be contrary to all analogy to suppose that that language had remained unaltered in those yet earlier ages before the Vedas were composed. It must, therefore, now become my object to inquire, whether we can discover any means of following it back to its origin. We are not, it must be confessed, in a position to do this in any other way than that of reasoning and inference; for, in the absence of any Sanskrit writings anterior to the Vedas, we possess no direct means of tracing the history of the Sanskrit language and its mutations any further back than the date of the composition of those hymns. There is, however, another way in which we can arrive at some conception of that history.

Learned men have remarked, that there is a great resemblance between the Sanskrit and other languages, some of which, like it, are now no longer spoken, but were formerly the current and popular speech of ancient nations, and are preserved in written records which have descended to us from a remote antiquity. These are 1st, the Zend and other varieties of the ancient Persic; 2nd, the Greek; and 3rd, the Latin.[1] The Zend language is preserved in the Zend Avesta, a collection of writings

[1] It is not necessary for my purpose to insist much on the affinities of the Sanskrit to any other languages besides those I have named.

connected with the ancient religion of Persia. The poems of Homer which form the oldest relic of the extensive literature of ancient Greece, are supposed to have been written about 2700 years ago. And there are many Latin books which are 2000 years old. From the great similarity which exists between these languages and the Sanskrit, of which proofs and instances will be presently adduced, learned men have inferred: 1st. That these forms of speech have all one common origin, *i. e.*, that Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin are all, as it were, sisters[2], the daughters (some perhaps elder and some younger, but still all daughters,) of one mother who died in giving them birth, or, to speak without a figure, that they are derivatives from, and the surviving representatives of, one older language, which now no longer exists; and 2ndly, That the races of men who spoke these several languages are also all descended from one stock, and that their ancestors at a very early period all lived together in some country (situated out of Hindusthan), speaking one language; but afterwards separated, to travel away from their primeval abodes, at different times and in different directions; the forefathers of the Hindus southward or south-eastward to India; the ancestors of the Persians to the south; and those of the Greeks and Romans to the west.[3] The languages of those branches of this great Indo-European stock which remained longest together in their earliest home, viz., the Persians and the Indians, continued to bear the closest resemblance to each other; while the tongues of those offshoots which separated earliest from the parent stock, exhibit in later times the least amount of resemblance, the divergencies of dialect becoming wider and wider in proportion to the length of time which had elapsed since the separation.

[2] Facies non omnibus una, nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.

[3] For an account of the Greeks and Romans, I refer the Indian student to any of the ordinary historical manuals.

SECT. I.—*Introductory Remarks on Comparative philology: affinities of the Sanskrit and Persian with each other.*

I shall proceed to establish these assertions as to the resemblance of the Sanskrit to the Zend, Greek and Latin; after first premising a few simple remarks on comparative philology in general.

A comparison of the various languages which are spoken in different countries of Europe and Asia, has brought to light the fact that they belong to different families or classes; and that the different members of the same family, while they exhibit a more or less close resemblance to each other, have either no resemblance, or a very remote one, to those belonging to any of the other families. It will be sufficient for the purpose of illustration if I refer to the two great, and universally recognised, families of speech, the Semitic and the Indo-Germanic. The languages which belong to the Semitic branch, are the Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, &c. Now all who have studied these languages are well aware that they closely resemble each other in respect of their roots and general character; while they have scarcely any affinity at all in any respect with the languages of the Indo-Germanic stock, in which are included Sanskrit, Zend, the later forms of Persian, Greek, Latin, and the Teutonic and Sclavonic languages. Any person who knows both Arabic and Sanskrit is perfectly aware that they have no resemblance to each other either in verbal roots, or nouns, or in the forms of conjugation and declension. Now, here we discover the very remarkable fact that two languages, both very perfect and polished in their forms and structure, and both of which are spoken by learned men, of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions respectively, living together, side by side, in the same cities of India, are totally different from each other in almost every respect in which one elaborate and complicated language can be distinguished from another language of the same character. And what is the explanation of this, at first sight, so startling a phenomenon? It is, of course, that Arabic is, (as its name im-

plies,) the language of the Arabs, a Semitic tribe; and was introduced into India by the Mahomedan invaders of that country, who, though not Arabians by descent, have yet, as their designation imports, been converted to the faith of the Arabian conqueror Mahomed, and have learned the language in which their sacred volume, the Koran, is written: while Sanskrit, on the other hand, is the language of the Brahmans, who are descended from a race which has no affinity with the Semitic, viz.: the Arian family of nations. It is not, therefore, wonderful that the Sanskrit and Arabic languages, which, though they meet in India, have been introduced into that country from quarters so perfectly distinct, should be totally different from each other.

But the Musulmans of India are not only acquainted with the Arabic tongue, but with the Persian also, which is the living dialect of Persia, one of the countries which lie intermediate between Arabia and India. The Persian language which the Persians now speak, and which the learned Musulmans of India write, is a composite form of speech, *i. e.* one chiefly made up of a mixture of Arabic with the ancient Persic, which was originally devoid of Arabic words. Now in that portion of the modern Persian language which has not been borrowed from Arabic, but inherited from the ancient Persic, we find many words which are manifestly of the same origin as the Sanskrit nouns or verbs of the same signification.

The following list of words may suffice to prove the assertion just made, that the Persian language, has, in its purely Persic element, an affinity with Sanskrit, while Arabic has no such affinity:—

## No. VIII.

*Comparative Table of Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic Words.*

| English. | Sanskrit. | Persian. | Arabic. |
|---|---|---|---|
| father | pitṛi | padar | ăbū |
| mother | mātṛi | mādar | ămm |
| daughter | duhitṛi | duḳhtar | bint |
| son-in-law | jāmātṛi | dāmād | hāfid |

| English. | Sanskrit. | Persian. | Arabic. |
|---|---|---|---|
| young man | yuvăn | jawān | shābb |
| male | năra | nar | zhăkăr |
| heat | gharma | garm | hārr |
| horse | ăśwa | ăsp | fărăs |
| water | ăp | āb | mā |
| name | nāman | nām | ism |
| dry | śushka | khushk | yābis |
| foot | pāda | pā | qădăm |
| arm | bāhu | bāzū | sā'id |
| new | năvă | nau | jădīd |
| one | eka | yak | ăḥăd |
| two | dwi | do | ithnăn |
| four | chătur | chăhār | ărbă'a |
| five | pănchăn | pănj | ḳhams |
| six | shăṭ | shăsh | sătt[4] |
| seven | săptăn | hăft | saba'a |
| eight | ăshtăn | hăsht | thămāniyat |
| ten | dăśăn | dăh | 'ashar |
| twenty | vinśati | bist | 'ashrūn |

I subjoin some additional instances of affinity between Persian and Sanskrit words, omitting all reference to the Arabic.

## I. VERBS.

| Sanskrit. | Persian. | English. |
|---|---|---|
| sthātum | istādan | to stand |
| paktum | pukhtan | to cook |
| marttum | murdan | to die |
| swapitum | khuftan | to sleep |
| dātum | dādan | to give |
| char | charīdan | to go, eat, graze |
| dhāv | davīdan | to run |
| dṛī | darīdan | to tear |
| śru ? | shanūdan | to hear |
| grabh[5] (Vedic) | giriftan | to take |
| bhū | būdan | to be |

| Sanskrit. | Persian. | English. |
|---|---|---|
| kṛi (kar) | kardan | to do |
| bhṛi (bhar) | burdan | to bear |
| prachh (prichh) | pursīdan | to ask |
| jnā | dānistan | to know |
| jīv | zīstan | to live |
| bandh | bastan (bandad 3d. pers. sing. pres.) | to bind |
| janj | jangīdan | to fight |
| tap | tapīdan | to be hot |
| ruh | roīdan | to grow |

[4] In this case the Arabic word resembles the Sanskrit.

[5] May we not consider the later form *grah* as an early instance of the same process by which in Prakrit *h* was substituted for *bh* ? See Vararuchi, ii. 27.

| Sanskrit. | Persian. | English. |
|---|---|---|
| krī | kharīdan | to buy |
| khan | kandan | to dig |
| kṛish(karsh) | kashīdan | to draw |
| duh | doshīdan | to milk |
| jush | justan | to like / to seek |
| āp | yāftan | to obtain |
| han | zadan (zanad 3d. pers. sing. pres.) | to strike |

| Sanskrit. | Persian. | English. |
|---|---|---|
| dhmā (dhamati) | damīdan | to blow |
| sṛij | sirishtan | to create |
| kup ? | guftan | to speak |
| asmi | hastam | I am |
| asti | hast, ast | he is |
| bhavāmi | buvam | I am |
| bhavati | buvad | he is |
| abhūvam | būdam | I was |
| abhūt | būd | he was |

## II. NOUNS.

| Sanskrit. | Persian. | English. |
|---|---|---|
| ushṭra | ushtar, shutr, | camel |
| vāta | bād | wind |
| dant | dandān | tooth |
| chakra | charḳh | wheel |
| bhātṛi | biradar | brother |
| śwasura | ḳhusr | brother-in-law |
| śveta | safed | white |
| tejas | tez | vigour, sharp |
| pūrṇa | pur | full |
| pura | pul | city, bridge |
| śiras | sar | head |
| vihāra ? | bahār | sport, spring |
| martya | mard | man |
| jānu | zānu | knee |
| dōs | dosh | shoulder |
| hasta[6] ? | dast | hand |
| bhār | bār | weight |
| gau | gao | ox |
| angushṭha | angusht | thumb, finger |
| mesha | mesh | ram |

| Sanskrit. | Persian. | English. |
|---|---|---|
| tāra | sitārah | star |
| bāla | bāl | hair, feather |
| godhūma | gandum | wheat |
| yava | jau | barley |
| varsha | bārish | rain |
| kṛishṭi | kisht | cultivation, field |
| śoka | sog | grief |
| twam | tū | thou |
| yushmān(acc.) | shumā | you |
| manas | mansh | disposition, mind |
| pṛishṭha | pusht | back |
| durnāma | dushnām | bad name |
| durmanas | duṷmanas, dushman | disturbed, enemy |
| durvāra ? | dushwār[7], dush-khwār | difficult |
| mahattara | mihtar | greater |
| kāma | kām | wish, desire |
| ayas | āhan | iron |
| mitr | mihr | sun |
| śākhā | shāḳh | branch |

[6] Could this Sanskrit word have been originally *dhasta* ?

[7] *Wār* is a Persian suffix, probably unconnected with the Sanskrit *vāra;* but there is no doubt of the identity of the Persian particle *dush* and the Sanskrit *dus*.

| Sanskrit. | Persian. | English. |
|---|---|---|
| tanu | tan | body |
| ārāma | ārām | garden, rest |
| tapas | tāb, tap | heat |
| trishṇā | tishnah | thirst, thirsty |
| kunjā | kunj | corner, arbour |
| vadana | badan | face, body |
| antar | andar | within |
| mūsha | mūsh | mouse |
| kshudra | khurd | small |
| ishṭika | khisht | brick |
| śṛigāla | shaghāl | jackall |
| ḳhara | ḳhar | ass |
| aśvatara | astar | mule |
| vistara | bistar | bed |
| sthāna | istān | place |
| jangala | jangal | jungle |
| dūra | dūr | far |
| kāryya | kār | work |
| māsa | māh | month |
| matta | mast | drunk |
| matsya | māhī? | fish |
| ekavāra | yakbār | once |
| dviguṇa | dogūnah | double |
| śankha | sang? | shell, stone |
| ranga | rang | colour |

| Sanskrit. | Persian. | English. |
|---|---|---|
| dāru | darod | wood |
| dwāra | dar | door |
| gola | golah | round, a ball |
| deva | dev | a god, demon |
| nakha | nāḳhun | nail (of finger) |
| abhra | abr | cloud |
| megha | megh | cloud |
| tanu | tanuk | slender |
| guru, gariyas | girān | heavy |
| jāta | zādah | born |
| jani | zan | woman |
| sama | hamah | all |
| nema | nīm | half |
| chhāyā | sāyah | shadow |
| asthi | ustuḳhān | bone |
| charman | charm | skin |
| vatsa | bachah | child |
| kshapā? | shab | night |
| tara | tar | comparative affix |
| kṛimi | kirm | worm |
| karka | kark, ḳharchang | crab |

*Note.*—On the other hand I may specify the instance of *āfat* (Ar.) and *āpad* (Sans.), in which a word of similar sound has the same sense of *calamity* in Arabic and Sanskrit.

Now the old language of Persia, from which the words in the above list, still forming part of the modern Persian, must all be derived, was a language closely connected with the Sanskrit. That language, at a certain stage of its progress, was the Zend, which we find employed in the Zendavesta, or sacred volume of the Zoroastrians, or Parsis, a work which still exists, and has recently begun to be studied by European scholars.

In the same way, if we compare Sanskrit with the language of the ancient Greeks (who lived to the north-west of Persia, on the eastern and western shores of the Ægean Sea,) and with that of the Romans, who inhabited Italy, we shall find a close resemblance, and frequently, an almost perfect identity in very many words, both as regards the roots and the inflection.

The resemblances between languages may be twofold. First, as regards the roots of the words. For instance in Sanskrit, we have the word *nāma*, 'name,' and we find the same word *nām* in the same sense both in Persian and Hindî. The second resemblance is in the mode of inflection. Here we do not find any resemblance in regard to the way in which this word *nāma* is declined between the Sanskrit and the Persian and Hindi languages. The Sanskrit has three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, and seven cases in each number, whereas the Persian and Hindi have only two numbers, singular and plural, and the cases are formed in quite a different way from those of the Sanskrit. To prove this it will be sufficient to give the different cases of the singular number of this word in each of the languages.

| | Sanskrit. | Persian. | Hindi. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. | nāma | nām | nām |
| Acc. | nāma | nāmrā | nāmko |
| Inst. | nāmnā | wanting, | nām se |
| Dat. | nāmne | and supplied | nāmko |
| Abl. | nāmnas | by preposi- | nām se |
| Gen. | nāmnas | tions. | nāmkā |
| Voc. | nāma | nām | nām |

If now we compare the Latin word for "name" with the Sanskrit we shall find that the root is the same, and that the mode of inflection is very similar: thus,

SINGULAR.

| | Sanskrit. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. | nāma (from crude form nāman) | nomen |
| Acc. | nāma | nomen |
| Inst. | nāmnā | nomine |
| Dat. | nāmne | nomini |

| | Sanskrit. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|
| ABL. | nāmnas | nomine |
| GEN. | nāmnas | nominis |
| VOC. | nāma | nomen |

The Latin language has no dual.

PLURAL.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| NOM. | nāmāni | nomina |
| ACC. | nāmāni | nomina |
| INST. | namabhis | nominibus |
| DAT. | namabhyas | nominibus |
| ABL. | namabhyas | nominibus |
| GEN. | nāmnām | nominum |
| VOC. | nāmāni | nomina |

We see here that, while the same root expressing the word 'name,' is common to all these languages, the Persian and Hindi have lost the ancient forms of inflection, while the Sanskrit and Latin have preserved them. There thus exists a double resemblance, viz., first of roots, and second of inflections, between the Latin and the Sanskrit, and the same remark is equally true of the Greek and the Zend.

Now, when we find that a multitude of roots coincide in any two languages, of which the one does not derive them from the other, we may be sure, (even though the one may have no complex system of inflections, while the other has,) that those two languages have a common origin, especially if we can show that the one which is deficient in inflections has gradually lost them by a particular process of alteration which can still be traced. But if any two languages resemble one another *both* in roots and inflections, the proof of their affinity is then greatly strengthened.

SECT. II.—*Detailed illustrations of the affinities of Sanskrit with the Zend, Greek, and Latin languages.*

I proceed now to furnish, first, some specimens of words which as roots correspond to each other in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin; and I shall afterwards exhibit the mutual resemblances of these four languages in point of inflection also.

The following is a list of words (derived from the publications of Bopp, Benfey, Aufrecht, Pictet, and others, and in some instances from my own conjectures) which correspond both in sound and sense in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin.

## No. IX.

### I. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| pitṛi | paitar | patēr | pater | father |
| mātṛi | . . | mētēr | mater | mother |
| bhrātṛi | brātar | phratria(a clan) | frater | brother |
| swasṛi | qañhar | . . | soror | sister |
| duhitṛi | dughdhar | thugatēr | . . | daughter |
| naptṛi / napāt | . . | . . | nepos | grandson |
| naptrī | . . | . . | neptis | grand-daughter |
| devṛi | . . | daer | . . | husband's brother |
| jāmātṛi | . . | gambros | gener | son-in-law |
| śwaśura | . . | hekuros | socer | father-in-law |
| śwaśrū | . . | hekura | socrus | mother-in-law |
| pitṛivya | . . | patrōs | patruus | father's brother |
| putra | . . | . . | puer? | son, boy |
| vidhavā | . . | . . | vidua | widow |
| nara | . . | anēr | . . | man |
| jani | . . | gunē | . . | woman |
| vīra | . . | hērōs | vir | hero, man |
| vīrata | . . | . . | virtus | valour |
| agnis | . . | . . | ignis | fire |
| paraśu | . . | pĕlĕkus | . . | axe |

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| jaras | . . | gēras | . . | old age |
| manas | . . | mĕnos | mens | mind |
| yuvan | . . | . . | juvenis | young man |
| avis | . . | oïs | ovis | sheep |
| aja | . . | aix | . . | goat |
| sarpa | . . | herpeton | serpens | serpent, reptile |
| patatrin | . . | peteinon | . . | a bird |
| patis | paitis | posis | . . | lord |
| patnī | . . | potnia | . . | mistress |
| Divaspatis | . . | . . | Diespiter | lord of the sky |
| Varuṇa | . . | ouranos | . . | Varuna, heaven |
| śwan | śpā | kūōn | canis | dog |
| śwānam | śpānăm | kuna | canem | dog (acc.) |
| makshikā | . . | . . | musca | fly |
| paśu | paśus | pōü? | pecu | beast |
| aśwa | aśpa | hippos | equus | horse |
| śūkara | . . | hus | sus | hog |
| hansa | . . | khēn | anser | goose |
| ṛiksha | . . | arkos | ursus | bear |
| apas | . . | . . | opus | work |
| aksha | . . | axōn | axis | axle |
| barbara | . . | bărbăros | barbarus | barbarian |
| dama | . . | domos | domus | house |
| ōkas? vēśa | . . | oikos | . . | house |
| arindama | . . | hippodamos | . . | subduer of foes, horses |
| ari | . . | eris? (strife) | . . | enemy |
| rai | . . | . . | res | wealth |
| dru, druma | . . | dru, drumos | . . | tree, wood |
| dhūma | . . | thumos | fumus | smoke, anger |
| prastara | . . | petros | . . | stone |
| bhrū | . . | ophrus | . . | eyebrow |
| dantam (acc.) | . . | odonta | dentem | tooth |
| nakha | . . | onux, onuchos | unguis | nail |
| nāman[8] | nāman | onoma | nomen | name |
| śankha | . . | konkhos | concha | shell, cockle |

[8] *Nāman* is considered by Benfey, G. W. L. ii. 144, as = *jnāman*, "that by which any one is known." The Latin *nomen* would in like manner be = to *gnomen*, (compare *cognomen*). The Sanskrit *nāman* might also be = to *mnāman*, from *mnā*, "that whereby any one is remembered."

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| vāch | vāch | ops | vox | voice |
| vachas | văcho | . . | . . | word |
| rājan | . . | arkhōn? | rex | king |
| rājñī | . . | . . | regina | queen |
| jānu | zhĕnu | gonu | genu | knee |
| janu | . . | genos | genus | birth |
| madhu | madhu | methu | . . | honey, wine |
| deva | . . | theos | deus | god |
| yuga | . . | zugon | jugum | yoke |
| aśru | . . | dakru? | lacryma? | tear |
| hima | . . | kheimōn | hĭĕms | winter |
| hyas | . . | khthĕs | heri | yesterday |
| hyastana | . . | . . | hesternus | of yesterday |
| hṛidaya | . . | kardia | cor | heart |
| divasa | . . | . . | dies | day |
| divā | . . | . . | divo | by day, under the sky |
| naktam, naktā | . . | mukta (acc.) | noctem (acc.) | night |
| sthāman | . . | . . | stamen | strength |
| stariman | . . | . . | stramen | bed, litter |
| dāna | . . | dōron | donum | gift |
| kalpa, (kṛip, to make) | kĕrĕfs / kĕrĕpĕm(acc.) | kolpos? | corpus | body |
| ōjas | . . | augē | . . | brilliancy |
| lōka | . . | . . | locus[9] | world, place |
| yava | . . | zea | . . | barley |
| măla | . . | mĕlas (black) | malum | dirt, sin, evil |
| chhāyā | . . | skia | . . | shadow |
| stūpa | . . | tumbos | tumulus | mound |
| ālōka | . . | leukos | lux | light, bright |
| tamas | . . | . . | tenebræ | darkness |
| varman | . . | . . | arma | armour |
| stanayitnu | . . | . . | tonitru | thunder |
| kāla | . . | kelainos | caligo | black; darkness |
| pada | . . | pedon | . . | place, ground |
| valmīka (ant-hill) | . . | murmex? | formica | ant |
| datṛi | . . | dōter | dator | giver (masc.) |
| dātrī | . . | doteira | datrix | giver (fem.) |
| janitṛi | . . | genetōr | genitor | father |

[9] Si quis piorum manibus *locus*. Tacitus, Agric. 46.

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| janitṛī | . . | geneteira | genetrix | mother |
| jāta | zāta | . . | gnatus | born |
| jnāta | . . | gnōtos | notus | known |
| purus | . . | polus | . . | much |
| urus | . . | eurus | . . | broad |
| pṛithu | . . | platus | . . | broad |
| gurus | . . | . . | gravis | heavy |
| garīyas | . . | . . | gravius | heavier |
| garishṭha | . . | . . | gravissimus | heaviest |
| varishṭha | . . | aristos | . . | best |
| laghu | . . | elakhus | . . | light, small |
| laghishṭha | . . | elakhistos | . . | lightest |
| mahān | . . | megas | magnus | great |
| mahīyān | . . | meizōn | major | greater |
| mañhishṭhas (Vedic.) | . . | megistos | maximus | greatest, venerable |
| bahu | . . | pakhus | . . | great, thick |
| āśu | . . | ōkus | . . | swift |
| mṛidu | . , | bradus | . . | soft, slow |
| tanu | . . | tanu? | tenuis | slender |
| rudhira | . . | eruthros | . . | blood, red |
| gharma | . . | thermos | . . | heat, hot |
| śushka | . . | . . | siccus | dry |
| pūrṇa | . . | pleos | plenus | full |
| dīrgha | . . | dolikhos | . . | long |
| swapnas | . . | ḳupnos | somnus | sleep |
| nabhas | . . | nephos | nubes | sky, cloud |
| abhra | . . | ombros / aphros? | imber | cloud, rain, foam |
| an (to breathe) | . . | anemos | animus | wind, mind |
| vāta | . . | . . | ventus? | wind |
| ātman | . . | atmos | . . | vapour, breath, soul |
| samas | . . | hŏmŏs | similis | like |
| tōka, takman | . . | teknon, tekos | . . | child |
| tāra[10] | stāre | aster, astron | astrum | star |

[10] The original form of this word was probably *stāra;* as may be argued from the *ś* being preserved in Zend, and the *s* in Greek, as well as in the Persian *sitārah.* Benfey, Griech. Wurz. Lexicon, i. 661. In the new edition of his Comp. Gram. par. 49, Bopp gives the Sanskrit word as *stārus* (nom. pl.) in the Vedic dialect.

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| dāru | . . | doru | . . | wood, tree |
| dwāra | . . | thura | fores | door |
| nāsikā | . . | . . | nasus | nose |
| bhās | . . | phaos | . . | light |
| vāstu | . . | astu | . . | habitation, city |
| ajra (Vedic) | . . | agros | ager | field |
| vastra | vaśtra | . . | vestis | clothes |
| māsa | . . | mēn | mensis | month |
| ayas | . . | . . | æs | iron, copper |
| adhwan | . . | hodos? | . . | road |
| purī | . . | polis | . . | city |
| prajā | . . | . . | progenies | offspring |
| karka | . . | karkinos | cancer | crab |
| mūsha | . . | mūs | mus | mouse |
| kōṇa | . . | gōnia | . . | corner |
| kshoṇī | . . | khthōn | . . | earth |
| gaus, gmā | . . . | gē, gaia | . . | earth |
| āyus | . . | aion | ætas | age |
| āpta | . . | . . | aptus | fit |
| sthira | . . | stereos | . . | firm |
| rasa | . . | drosos | ros | liquid, dew |
| ahis | azis | echis | anguis | serpent |
| naus | . . | naus | navis | ship |
| ūdhas | . . | outhar | . . | udder |
| udăra | . . | . . | uterus | belly |
| antra | . . | enteron | venter | entrails |
| yakrit | . . | hepar | jecur | liver |
| kratu (Vedic) | . . | kratos | . . | force |
| bala | . . | . . | validus | strength, strong |
| maṇḍa? | . . | . . | mundus | ornament |
| pāra | . . | peran, peras | . . | the other side |
| dakshiṇa | dashina | dexios | dexter | right (side) |
| gīr | . . | gērus | . . | voice |
| kēśa | . . | . . | cesaries | hair |
| kapāla | . . | kĕphalē | caput | skull, head |
| uda | . . | hudōr | unda | water, wave |
| vāri | vairi | . . | mare | water, sea |
| jhampa | . . | . . | . . | jump |
| nava | . . | neos | novus | new |
| takshan | . . | tektōn | . . | carpenter |
| kshura | . . | xuron | . . | razor |

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| swargatas | . . | . . | cœlitus | from heaven |
| sāmi | . . | hemi | semi | half |
| mātram | . . | metron | metrum | measure |
| akshi | . . | ŏkŏs, ŏkkŏs | oculus | eye |
| āsya | . . | . . | os | face |
| bāhu | . . | pēkhu | . . | arm |
| asthi | . . | osteon | os | bone |
| asis | . . | . . | ensis | sword |
| kravya | . . | krčas | caro | flesh |
| ekatara | . . | hekateros | . . | one of two |
| madhya | maidhya | mesos | medius | middle |
| mṛityu | merethyu | . . | mors | death |
| mṛita | . . | . . | mortuus | dead |
| martyas | . . | brotos | mortalis | mortal |
| amṛitas | . . | ambrotos | immortalis | immortal |
| swādu | . . | hēdu | suavis | sweet |
| pāda | pādha | pous | pes | foot |
| padāti | . . | pezos | {pedes, peditis (gen.)} | footman |
| anyas | . . | . . | alius | another |
| antaras | . . | heteros | alter | different |
| ubha | uba | amphō | ambo | both |
| vahana | . . | okhanon | . . | carriage |
| saras | . . | helos? | . . | marsh |
| arbhaka | . . | orphanos? | orbus | small, bereaved |
| phulla | . . | phullon | folium | flower, leaf |
| smărttā | . . | martus? | . . | {who remembers, a witness} |
| arjjana | . . | ergon | . . | earning, work |
| hanus | . . | genus | . . | jaw |
| patha | . . | patos | . . | path |
| kshamā | . . | khamai | . . | {ground, on the ground} |
| bhāras | . . | phoros | . . | a load |
| yājya | . . | hagios | . . | venerable, holy |
| anna (from ad) | . . | edanos | . . | eaten, eatable |
| āśayana? | . . | ōkeanos | . . | ocean |
| guhā? | . . | gupē, kupē | . . | cavern, hole |
| kakudmat | . . | . . | cacumen? | mountain, peak |
| kalēvara | . . | . . | cadaver? | body, corpse |
| aśman | . . | akmōn | . . | stone, anvil |

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| śaru? | . . | keraunos | . . | thunderbolt |
| śṛinga? | . . | keras | cornu | horn |
| jambha? | . . | gomphios | . . | tooth, grinder |
| sītya | . . | sitos | . . | corn |
| halā? | . . | khalis | . . | pure wine |
| drākshā | . . | rhax | . . | grape |
| vēna? | . . | foinos | vinum | soma juice? wine |
| puluka | . . | psulla | pulex | insect, flea |
| lōpāśaka | . . | alōpēx | . . | jackall, fox |
| śarabha | . . | karabos | . . | locust, beetle |
| varttaka | . . | ortux | . . | quail |
| udra, urdra | . . | enudris | . . | otter |
| kuhūka | . . | kokkux | cuculus | Indian cuckoo, cuckoo |
| ulūka | . . | . . | ulula | owl |
| kārava | . . | korax | corvus | crow |
| pika | . . | . . | pica | Indian cuckoo, magpie |
| kărkăra | . . | . . | calx | limestone |

## II. PREPOSITIONS AND PARTICLES.

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sam | . . | sun | con | with |
| pari | . . | peri | per | round |
| upari [11] | upairi | huper | super | above |
| upa [11] | . . | hupo | sub | under |
| prati | . . | pros, proti | . . | towards |
| pra | . . | prŏ | pro | before |
| antar | . . | entos | inter, intus | within |
| apa | apa | apo | ab | away |
| api | . . | epi | . . | towards, on |
| abhi | . . | amphi | . . | towards, round |

[11] The Latin forms *super* and *sub*, seem to be more genuine and original than either the Sanskrit or the Greek, as they preserve the initial *s*. That these words must have had an initial *s* is rendered probable by the other cases in which the Sanskrit and Latin both retain the *s*, when the Greek changes it into *h*, as in *srip* and *serpo*, compared with *herpo*; and *saptan* and *septem*, as compared with *hepta*; see, however, Benfey's Gr. W. Lex. i. 284.

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| parā | . . | para | . . | past |
| taran(s) (from tṛi) | . . | . . | trans | across |
| su | . . | eu | . . | well |
| dus | . . | dus | . . | ill |
| sumanas | . . | eumenes | . . | kindly-minded |
| durmanas | . . | dusmenes | . . | evil-minded |
| a, an | . . | a, an | in | privative particle |
| kati | . . | . . | quot | how many? |
| tati | . . | . . | tot | so many |
| kadā | . . | hŏtĕ | quando | when? |
| tadā | . . | tote | . . | then |
| yadā | . . | pote | . . | when |
| anyadā | . . | allote | . . | at other times |
| tatas | . . | tothen | . . | thence |
| yatas | . . | hothen | . . | whence |
| ittham | . . | . . | item | thus |
| paśchāt | . . | opisthen | post | after |
| makshu | . . | . . | mox | quickly |

## III. NUMERALS.

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| dwi | dwa | duo | duo | two |
| trayas | thrayo? | treis | tres | three |
| tisaras (fem.) | tisăro (fem.) | | | |
| chatwāras | chathwāro | tessares | quatuor | four |
| panchan | panchan | pente | quinque | five |
| shaṭ | khsvas | hex | sex | six |
| saptan | hăptan | hepta | septem | seven |
| ashṭan | astan | okto | octo | eight |
| navan | navan | hennea | novem | nine |
| daśan | daśa | deka | decem | ten |
| vinśati | vīśaiti | eikosi | viginti | twenty |
| śatam | śatĕm | hekaton | centum | hundred |
| prathamas | frăthemo | prōtos | primus | first |
| dwitīyas | bityo | deuteros | secundus | second |
| tritīyas | thrityo | tritos | tertius | third |
| chaturthas turyas | tuiryo | tetartos | quartus | fourth |
| panchamas | pukhdho | pemptos | quintus | fifth |

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| shashṭhas | khstvo | hektos | sextus | sixth |
| saptamas | haptatho | hebdomos | septimus | seventh |
| ashṭamas | astĕmo | ogdoos | octavus | eighth |
| navamas | nāumo | hennatos | nonus | ninth |
| daśamas | daśĕmo | dekatos | decimus | tenth |
| dwis | bis | dis | bis | twice |
| tris | thris | tris | ter | thrice |
| dwidhā | . . | dikha | . . | in two ways |
| tridhā | . . | trikha | . . | in three ways |
| chaturdhā | . . | tetrakha | . . | in four ways |
| panchadhā | . . | pentakha | . . | in five ways |

## IV. VERBS AND PARTICIPLES.

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| driṇāmi | . . | dero | . . | I tear, flay |
| dadāmi | dadhāmi | didōmi | do | I give |
| dadhāmi | . . | tithēmi | . . | I place |
| tishṭhāmi | histāmi | histēmi | sto | I stand, place |
| miśrayāmi | . . | mignumi | misceo | I mix |
| striṇōmi | . . | stronnumi | sterno | I spread |
| bharāmi | . . | phero | fero | I bear |
| bhū | . . | phuo | fui | to be |
| (lih) lehmi | . . | leikho | lingo | I lick |
| tanōmi | . . | tanuō | tendo | I stretch |
| tatāna | . . | . . | tetendi | I stretched |
| jajanmi | zăzāmi | gennao | gigno | I beget |
| (jnā) jānāmi | . . | gignōscō | gnosco | I know |
| tudāmi | . . | . . | tundo | I wound or beat |
| tutōda | . . | . . | tutudi | I have beaten |
| (sēv) sēvē<br>(sap) sapē[12] | . . | sebŏmai | . . | I reverence |
| lubhyati | . . | . . | lubet | he desires, (S.)<br>it pleases (L.) |
| (tup) tupāmi | . . | tupto | . . | I hurt, beat |
| admi | . . | edo | edo | I eat |
| vahāmi | vazāmi | . . | veho | I carry |
| avākshīt | . . | . . | vexit | he carried |
| skandāmi | . . | . . | scando | I go, ascend |
| limpāmi | . . | aleipho | . . | I annoint |

[12] See Benfey's Glossary to S.-V.; and *asapanta* in R.-V. vii. 83. 8.

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| apaptam | . . | epipton | . . | I fell |
| apaptat | . . | epipte | . . | he fell |
| patāmi | . . | petomai | . . | I fall, fly |
| sīdāmi from shad) | . . | . . | sedeo | I sink, sit |
| chhinadmi [13] | . . | schizo | scindo | I cut |
| chhindanti | . . | . . | scindunt | they cut |
| bhinadmi | . . | . . | findo | I cleave |
| tripyāmi | . . | terpo | . . | I am satisfied, please |
| dāmyāmi | . . | damao, damnēmi | domo | I subdue |
| labhē | . . | lambano | . . | I take |
| anajmi | . . | . . | ungo | I anoint |
| anktum | . . | . . | unctum | to anoint |
| plavē | . . | pleo | fluo, pluo | I swim, sail, flow, rain |
| manāmi (mnā) | . . | mnaomai | memini | I remember |
| juhōmi (hu) | . . | thuo | . . | I sacrifice |
| huta | . . | thutos | . . | sacrificed |
| daśāmi | . . | dakno | . . | I bite |
| karōmi (kṛi) | . . | kraino | creo | I do, fulfil, create |
| āse | . . | hēsmai | . . | I sit |
| vamāmi | . . | emeo | vomo | I vomit |
| pardāmi | . . | perdomai | pedo | ventris crepitum edo |
| swēdē, swidyāmi | . . | hidroō | sudo | I sweat |
| ardāmi | . . | . . | ardeo | I afflict, am on fire |
| swanāmi | . . | . . | sono | I sound |
| lunāmi | . . | luo | luo | I cut, loose, pay |
| dahāmi | . . | daio | . . | I burn |
| vartē | . . | . . | verto | I am, turn |
| varttatē | . . | . . | vertit | he is, turns |
| mēhāmi (mih) | . . | . . | mingo | I make water |
| ēmi (from i) | . . | eimi | eo | I go |

[13] This root may originally have had an initial *ś*. See, however, Benfey, G. W. L. i. 166.

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| dṛiśyāmi (old present? from dṛiś) | . . | derko | . . | I see |
| vēdmi (vid) | . . | eido | video | I know, see |
| vēda | . . | oida | . . | I know |
| punāmi | . . | . . | puto | I cleanse |
| tapye | . . | . . | tepeo | I am hot |
| prichhāmi | pĕrĕsāmi | . . | preco | I ask |
| spaśāmi (later form? paśyāmi) | . . | skeptomai (by metathesis) | specio | I make clear, see |
| trasyāmi | . . | trĕō | tremo | I fear, tremble |
| naśyāmi | . . | nekros? (dead) | noceo | I perish, hurt |
| spriśāmi | . . | . . | spargo? | I touch, sprinkle |
| majjāmi | . . | . . | mergo? | I sink |
| lagāmi | . . | legō? | lego | I touch, lay |
| pṛich | . . | plekō | plecto | I touch, twined |
| pṛikta | . . | plektos | plexus | touched, twined |
| rājē [14] | . . | arkhō? | rego | I rule |
| lōchē, lōkē | . . | leusso | luceo | I look, shine |
| vachmi | . . | . . | voco | I speak, call |
| takshāmi [15] | . . | tiktō, teukho | texo | I fabricate, beget |
| budhye | . . | punthanomai | puto | I think, ascertain |
| vapāmi [16] | . . | huphaino | . . | I weave |
| varshāmi | . . | brekhō | . . | I rain |
| bhanj [17] | . . | frūgnumi | frango | I break |
| bhuj [17] | . . | . . | fruor | I enjoy |
| bhukta | . . | . . | fructus | enjoyed, fruit |
| charāmi | . . | . . | curro? | I go, run |
| chachāra | . . | . . | cucurri? | I went, ran |
| kalpayāmi (from kṛip: Pali kappēmi) | . . | koptō? | carpo? | I cut, pluck |

[14] Nighaṇṭu, ii. 21.

[15] Compare the words *tōka, takman, teknon* in the list of nouns.

[16] Dr. Aufrecht finds in the word *ūrṇavābhi* the trace of an old root *vabh*, "to weave," which is still closer to the Greek form. See Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, *sub voce ūrṇavābhi.*

[17] These roots were, perhaps, originally *bhranj*, and *bhruj*, the *r* being

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bhakshayāmi | . . | phagō | . . | I eat |
| kupyāmi | . . | . . | cupio | I am excited, angry, desirous |
| śṛinōmi | . . | kluo | . . | I hear |
| jīvāmi | . . | zaō | vivo | I live |
| vanōmi | . . | . . | venero | I worship |
| kshaṇōmi | . . | kteino | . . | I kill |
| kshiṇōmī | . . | ktinnūmi | . . | I kill |
| gup (root) | . . | kruptō | . . | I hide |
| guptas | . . | kruptos | . . | hidden |
| guhāmi | . . | keuthō | . . | I hide |
| kirāmi | . . | krinō? | cerno | I scatter, separate |
| pivāmi | . . | pino | bibo | I drink |
| papau | . . | pepōka | . . | I have drunk |
| pātum (to drink) | . . | pŏtos | potus | drunk |
| jāgarmi | . . | egeiro | . . | I wake, rouse |
| pinashmi | . . | . . | pinso | I pound |
| pishṭa | . . | . . | pistus | pounded |
| kampe, (I tremble) | . . | kampto? | . . | I bend |
| namāmi | . . | neuo | nuo | I bend, nod |
| mārgayāmi | . . | margaō? | . . | I seek, am greedy, rage |
| han (orig. dhan?) | . . | than | . . | to kill, die |
| (ni)dhana | . . | thanatos | . . | death |
| bhaṇāmi | . . | phōneo? | . . | I speak |
| sīvyāmi | . . | . . | suo | I sew |
| nahyāmi | . . | . . | necto | I bind |
| adrămăm | . . | edramon | . . | I went, ran |
| diśāmi | . . | deiknumi | dico | I show, tell |
| adiksham | . . | edeixa | dixi | I showed, told |
| adikshata | . . | edeixate | dixistis | ye showed |
| mimē, māmi (from mā) | . . | metreō | metior | I measure |
| trape [18] | . . | trepo [18] | . . | I am ashamed, I turn |

afterwards dropped for the sake of euphony. Benfey, G. W. L. ii. 14, 366; Weber, Ind. Stud. ii. 88, note.

[18] These two roots differ in sense; and perhaps have no affinity.

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| trumpāmi<br>trōpāmi | . . | thrupto | . . | I hurt, break |
| yatē | . . | zēto | . . | I strive, seek |
| mṛidnāmi | . . | . . | mordeo | I rub, bite |
| mamarda | . . | . . | momordi | I rubbed, bit |
| medh | . . | medomai | . . | I understand, think on |
| ninjē (ṇij) | . . | nizo | . . | I cleanse |
| āpnōmi | . . | haptō | (ad)ipiciscor | I obtain |
| bandh | bandh | . . | . . | bind (root) |
| yunajmi | . . | zeugnumi | jungo | I yoke, join |
| yuktas | . . | zeuktos | junctus | joined |
| bhrāmyāmi | . . | bremo | fremo | I roar (Sans. wander) |
| lumpāmi | . . | . . | rumpo | I cut, break |
| sāche | . . | hepomai | sequor | I follow |
| bhrāje | . . | phlego | fulgeo | I shine, burn |
| bhṛijjāmi | . . | phrugō | . . | I roast |
| dhāvāmi | . . | theō | . . | I run |
| danśāmi | . . | dakuo | . . | I bite |
| dashṭa | . . | dēktos | . . | bitten |
| pachāmi | . . | pepto? | coquo | I cook |
| pakva | . . | peptos | coctus | cooked |
| lāmbē | . . | . . | lābor | I fall |
| yaje | . . | hazomai | . . | I venerate |
| sravāmi | . . | reo | . . | I flow |
| stambh | . . | stembo? stephō? | . . | I stop, stamp, crown |
| rabh | . . | rapto? | . . | I begin, sew |
| trā; trai | . . | tēreo | traho | I deliver, keep, draw |

Where the Zend word has been omitted in the proper column of the preceding list, I have not found it readily accessible. It will be gathered from the list that in many cases where the Greek language furnishes words equivalent both in sound and sense to certain Sanskrit words, the Latin, as preserved to us, has no words of corresponding form; and that, *vice versâ*, the Latin has often forms corresponding to the Sanskrit, where the Greek has none. In all the instances I have adduced, the

affinity is, of course, not equally certain. Doubtful cases I have generally indicated by a mark of interrogation.

It will also be observed that certain letters in Sanskrit are uniformly, or generally, replaced by certain other different letters in Zend, or in Greek, or in Latin. Thus the Sanskrit *s* becomes *h* in Zend and Greek, as in the case of *saptan, hapta,* and *hepta.* The Sanskrit *ś* again becomes *k* in Greek; *dh* is replaced by *th; bh* by *ph; gh* by *kh; j* by *g; y* by *z* or (in Latin) *j;* and so on.

I now proceed, secondly, to exhibit the resemblances which exist between Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin, in respect of their modes of declension and conjugation, as well as generally in the formation of words from nominal and verbal roots.

I shall first of all adduce as an instance of this similarity, the first and second personal pronouns.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

SINGULAR.

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM. | ăhăm | azĕm | ĕgō | ego | I. |
| ACC. | mām | manm, mā | mĕ | me | me. |
| INST. | măyā | . . | . . | . . | by me. |
| DAT. | măhyăm, mē | maibyā, mê, môi | ĕmoi, moi | mihi | to me. |
| ABL. | măt | mad | . . | . . | from me. |
| GEN. | mămă, mē | mana,me,môi | ĕmou, mou | mei | of me. |
| LOC. | măyi | . . | emoi, moi | me | in me. |

PLURAL.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM. | văyăm, asmē (Vedic) | vaêm | hēmeis | nos | we. |
| ACC. | asmān, nas | nô | hēmas | nos | us. |
| INST. | ăsmābhis | . . | . . | . . | by us. |
| DAT. | ăsmăbhyăm, or nas | maibyō, nô | hēmin | nobis | to us. |
| ABL. | ăsmăt | . . | . . | . . | from us. |

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gen. | ăsmākăm, or nas | ăhmākĕm | hēmōn | nostrum | of us. |
| Loc. | ăsmāsu | . . | hēmin | nobis | in us. |

SINGULAR.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. | twăm | tūm | su | tu | thou. |
| Acc. | twām | thwanm, thwā | se | te | thee. |
| Inst. | twăyā, | . . | . . | . . | by thee. |
| Dat. | tubhyam, or tē | thwōi, tōi, tē | soi | tibi | to thee. |
| Abl. | twăt | thwaḍ | . . | . . | from thee. |
| Gen. | tăvă, tē | thwahyā, thwôi, te | sou | tui | of thee. |
| Loc. | twăyi | thahmî | soi | te | in thee. |

PLURAL.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. | yūmay, yushmē, (Vedic.) | yūzhem yūs | humeis | vos | you. |
| Acc. | yushmān, vas | vō | humas | vos | you. |
| Inst. | yushmābhis | . . | . . | . . | by you. |
| Dat. | yushma-bhyam, vas | yūsmaiibya, vō | humin | vobis | to you. |
| Abl. | yushmat | yusmaḍ | . . | . . | from you. |
| Gen. | yushmākam | yūsmākĕm,vo | humōn | vestrum | of you. |
| Loc. | yushmāsu | . . | humin | vobis | in you. |

The following are examples of the similarity as regards the declension of nouns between the four languages in question.

## NOUNS MASCULINE, ending in *a*.

### Vṛika, "a wolf."

SINGULAR.

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. | vṛikas | vĕhrko | lukos | lupus |
| Acc. | vṛikam | vĕhrkem | lukon | lupum. |
| Inst. | vṛikeṇa | vĕhrkă | lukō | lupo. |
| Dat. | vṛikāya | vĕhrkāi | lukō | lupo. |

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ABL. | vṛikāt | vĕhrkāḍ | lukō | lupo. |
| GEN. | vṛikasya | vĕhrkahê | lukou | lupi. |
| LOC. | vrikē | vĕhrkê | lukō | lupo. |
| VOC. | vṛika | vehrkă | luke | lupe. |

DUAL.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM. AC. & VOC. | vṛikau | vĕhrkâo | lukō | No dual. |
| GEN. LOC. | vṛikayōs | . . | lukoin. | |
| INST. DA. & ABL. | vṛikābhyām | vĕhrkaiibya, | lukoin. | |

PLURAL.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| N. & VOC. | vṛikās | vĕhrkâonhô | lukoi | lupî. |
| ACC. | vṛikān | vĕhrkăṅ | lukous | lupos. |
| INST. | vṛikais | vĕhrkâis | lukois | lupis |
| DAT. | vṛikebhyas | vĕhrkaiibyô | lukois | lupis. |
| ABL. | vṛikebhyas | | lukois | lupis. |
| GEN. | vṛikānam | vĕhrkănăṅm | lukôn | luporum. |
| LOC. | vṛikeshu | vehrkaishva | lukois | lupis. |

## NOUN FEMININE.

Jihwā "tongue."

SINGULAR.

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM. | jihwā | hizvă | glossa | lingua. |
| ACC. | jihwām | hizvaṅm | glossan | linguam. |
| INST. | jihwăyā | hizvaya | glossē | linguā. |
| DAT. | jihwāyai | hizvăyāi | glossē | linguæ. |
| ABL. | jihwāyāh | hizvayāḍ | glossē | linguā. |
| GEN. | jihwāyāh | hizvayâo | glossēs | linguæ. |
| LOC. | jihwāyām | hizvăya? | glossē | linguâ. |
| VOC. | jihwe | hizva | glossa | lingua. |

## NOUN MASCULINE, ending in *ṛi*.

Pitṛi, "a father."

SINGULAR.

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM. | pitā | brāta (*brother*) | patēr | pater. |
| ACC. | pitaram | brātarĕm | patĕra | patrem. |
| INST. | pitrā | brāthra | patĕri, patri | patre. |
| DAT. | pitre | brāthrē | patĕri, patri | patri. |
| ABL. | pitus | . . | patĕri, patri | patre. |
| GEN. | pitus | brāthrō | patres | patris. |
| LOC. | pitari | brāthri? | patĕri, patri | patre. |
| VOC. | pitah | brātarĕ | patĕr | pater. |

PLURAL.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM. | pitaras | brātarō | patĕrĕs | patres. |
| ACC. | pitṛīn | brāthreus? | pateras | patres. |
| INST. | pitṛibhis | . . | patrasi | patribus. |
| DAT. | pitṛibhyas | brātarĕbyō | patrasi | patribus. |
| ABL. | pitṛibhyas | brātarĕbyō | patrasi | patribus. |
| GEN. | pitṛīṇam | brāthraṅm | paterōn, patrōn | patrium. |
| LOC. | pitṛishu | brātareshva | patrasi | patribus. |

## ANOTHER FORM OF NOUN MASCULINE, ending in *ṛi*.

SINGULAR.

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM. | dātā | dātă | dŏtēr | dator. |
| ACC. | dātāram | dātārĕm | dŏtĕra | datorem. |
| INST. | dātrā | dāthra | dotēri | datore. |
| DAT. | dātrē | dāthrē | dotēri | datori. |
| ABL. | dātŭs | dāthraḍ | dotēri | datore. |
| GEN. | dātus | dāthrō | dotēros | datoris. |
| LOC. | dātări | dāthri? | dotēri | datore. |

PLURAL.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM. | dātāras | dātārō | dotēres | datores. |
| ACC. | dātṛīn | dāthreus? | dotēras | datores. |
| INST. | dātṛibhis | . . | dotērsi | datoribus. |
| DAT. | dātṛibhyas | . . | dotērsi | datoribus. |
| ABL. | dātṛibhyas | . . | dotērsi | datoribus. |
| GEN. | dātṛīnām | dāthraṅm | dotērōn | datorum. |
| LOC. | dātṛishu | . . | dotērsi | datoribus. |

### PRESENT PARTICIPLE ACTIVE.

Bharat, "supporting."

SINGULAR.

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM. | bharan | barans | pherōn | ferens. |
| ACC. | bharantam | barĕntem | pherontă | ferentem. |
| INST. | bharatā | barĕnta | pheronti | ferente. |
| DAT. | bharatē | barĕntê | pheronti | ferenti. |
| ABL. | bharatas | barantaḍ | pheronti | ferente. |
| GEN. | bharatas | barĕntô | pherontos | ferentis. |
| LOC. | bharati | barĕntĭ | pheronti | ferente. |
| VOC. | bharan | barans | pheron | ferens. |

### NEUTER NOUNS.

Dāna, "a gift."

SINGULAR.

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM. | dānăm | dātĕm | dōrŏn | donum. |
| ACC. | dānăm | dātĕm | doron | donum. |
| INST. | dānēna | dātă | dorō | dono. |
| DAT. | dānāya | dātāi | dorō | dono. |
| ABL. | dānāt | dātāḍ | dorō | dono. |
| GEN. | dānasya | dātăhê | doron | doni. |
| LOC. | dānē | dātê | dorō | dono. |
| VOC. | dānă | dātă | doron | donum. |

Neuter Noun ending with a consonant.

Nāman, "a name."

SINGULAR.

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM. | nāmă | nāmă | ŏnŏma | nomen. |
| ACC. | nāmă | nāmă | ŏnŏma | nomen. |
| INST. | nāmnā | nāmănă | onomati | nomine. |
| DAT. | nāmnē | nāmainē | onomati | nomini. |
| ABL. | nāmnas | nāmanaḍ | onomati | nomine. |
| GEN. | nāmnas | nāmanô | onomatos | nominis. |
| LOC. | nāmni | nāmaini | onomati | nomimnise. |
| VOC. | nāman | nāman | onoma. | enomn. |

PLURAL.

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM. | nāmāni | nāmāna | onomăta | nomina. |
| ACC. | nāmāni | nāmăna | onomăta | nomina. |
| INST. | nāmăbhis | namabis | onomasi | nominibus. |
| DAT. | nāmăbhyas, | nāmăbyô | onomasi | nominibus. |
| ABL. | nāmabhyăs | | onomasi | nominibus. |
| GEN. | namnam | nāmanaûm | onomatōn | nominum. |
| LOC. | namasu | namahva | onomasi | nominibus. |

The forms of conjugating verbs in Sanskrit and Greek have a remarkable resemblance, particularly in those Greek verbs in *mi*, in which reduplication of the consonant of the root takes place in the present and imperfect tenses. Greek as well as Sanskrit has the augment in *ĕ*=*ă* in the imperfect and aorist, and the reduplication of the consonant in the perfect. The most striking instance of resemblance is, perhaps, the root *dā* or *do* 'to give;' which I subjoin together with several other examples; adding occasionally the Latin forms and the Zend also, where they are easily accessible.

## THE VERB *to give.*

### Present tense.

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SING. | dadāmi | dadhāmi | didōmi | do |
| | dadāsi | dadhāhi | didōs | das |
| | dadāti | dadhâiti | didōsi | dat |
| DUAL | dadvas | . . | . . | . . |
| | datthas | . . | didoton | . . |
| | dattas | . . | didoton | . . |
| PLURAL | dadmas | dadĕmahi | didomen | damus. |
| | dattha | . . | didote | datis |
| | dadati | dadĕnti | didousi | dant. |

### Imperfect.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SING. | adadām | . . | edidōn | dabam. |
| | adadās | . . | edidōs | dabas. |
| | adadāt | . . | edidō | dabat. |

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dual | adadva | . . | . . | . . |
| | adattam | . . | edidoton | . . |
| | adattām | . . | edidotēn | . . |
| Plural | adadma | . . | edidomen | dabamus. |
| | adatta | . . | edidote | dabatis. |
| | adadus | . . | edidosan | dabant. |

Third Preterite.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | adām | . . | edōn | . . |
| | adās | . . | edōs | . . |
| | adāt | . . | edō | . . |
| Dual | adāva | . . | . . | . . |
| | adātam | . . | edoton | . . |
| | adātām | . . | edotēn | . . |
| Plural | adāma | . . | edomen | . . |
| | adāta | . . | edote | . . |
| | adus | . . | edosan | . . |

Reduplicated Preterite.

| | Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | dădau | dedōka | dedi. |
| | daditha | dedōkas | dedisti. |
| | dădau | dedōke | dedit. |
| Dual | dadiva | . . | . . |
| | dădăthus | dedōkaton | . . |
| | dădătus | dedōkatēn | . . |
| Plural | dădĭma | dedōkamen | dedimus. |
| | dada | dedōkate | dedistis. |
| | dădus | dedōkasi | dederunt. |

The subjunctive and precative moods of the Sanskrit also answer nearly to the optatives of the present and aorist in Greek: thus,

Subjunctive.

| Singular. | | Plural. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sanskrit. | Greek. | Sanskrit. | Greek. |
| dădyām | didoiēn. | dadyāma | didoiēmen. |
| dădyās | didoiēs. | dadyāta | didoiēte. |
| dădyāt | didoiē. | dadyus | didoiēsan. |

Precative.

SINGULAR.

| Sanskrit. | Greek. |
|---|---|
| dēyāsam | doiēn. |
| dēyās | doiēs. |
| dēyāt | doiē, &c. |

There is also a resemblance in the Greek future *dôsô*, "I will give," and the future particle *dōsŏn*, to the Sanskrit *dāsyāmi* and *dāsyăn;* and a perfect identity in the Latin gerund, *datum*, with the Sanskrit infinitive *dātum*. The affinity between the Sanskrit form *dātṛi*, "a giver," or "one who will give," (which makes *dātāras* in the plural,) and the Latin future particle *daturus*, is also striking.

THE VERB *to place.*

Present Tense.

| | Sanskrit. | Greek. |
|---|---|---|
| SING. | dadhāmi | tithēmi. |
| | dadhāsi | tithēs. |
| | dadhāti | tithēsi. |
| DUAL | dadhvas | . . |
| | dhatthas | titheton. |
| | dhattas | titheton. |
| PLUR. | dadhmas | tithemen. |
| | dhattha | tithete. |
| | dadhati | titheisi. |

Imperfect.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| SING. | adadhām | etithēn. |
| | adadhās | etithēs. |
| | adadhāt | etithē. |
| DUAL | adadhwa | . . |
| | adhattam | etitheton. |
| | adhattām | etithetēn. |
| PLUR. | adadhma | etithemen. |
| | adhatta | etithete. |
| | adadhus | etithesan. |

### Third Preterite.

| | | Sanskrit. | Greek. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | 1 | adhām | ethēn. |
| | 2 | adhās | ethēs. |
| | 3 | adhāt | ethē. |
| Dual | 1 | adhāva | . . . |
| | 2 | adhātam | etheton. |
| | 3 | adhātām | ethetēn. |
| Plur. | 1 | adhāma | ethemen. |
| | 2 | adhāta | ethete. |
| | 3 | adhus | ethesan. |

## THE VERB *to spread.*

### Present Tense.

| | | Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | 1 | stṛṇōmi | strōnnūmi | sterno. |
| | 2 | strinōshi | strōnnus | sternis. |
| | 3 | strinōti | strōnnūsi | sternit. |
| Dual | 1 | strinuvas | . . | . . |
| | 2 | strinuthas | strōnnuton | . . |
| | 3 | strinutas | stronnuton | . . |
| Plur. | 1 | strimumas | stronnumen | sternimus. |
| | 2 | strinutha | stronnute | sternitis. |
| | 3 | strinvanti | strōnnûsi | sternunt. |

### Imperfect.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | 1 | astṛṇavam | estronnun | sternebam. |
| | 2 | astrinōs | estronnus | sternebas. |
| | 3 | astrinōt | estronnu | sternebat. |
| Dual | 1 | astrinuva | . . | . . |
| | 2 | astrinutam | estronnuton | . . |
| | 3 | astrinutām | estronnutēn | . . |
| Plur. | 1 | astrinuma | estronnumen | sternebamus. |
| | 2 | astrinuta | estronnute | sternebatis. |
| | 3 | astrinvan | estronnusan | sternebant. |

## THE VERB *to creep.*

### Present Tense.

| | Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | sarpāmi | herpō | serpo. |
| | sarpasi | herpeis | serpis. |
| | sarpati | herpei | serpit. |
| Dual | sarpāvas | . . | . . |
| | sarpathas | herpeton | . . |
| | sarpatas | herpeton | . . |
| Plur. | sarpāmas | herpomen | serpimus. |
| | sarpatha | herpete | serpitis. |
| | sarpanti | herpousi | serpunt. |

### Imperfect.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | asarpam | heirpon | serpebam. |
| | asarpas | heirpes | serpebas. |
| | asarpat | heirpe | serpebat. |
| Dual | asarpāva | . . | . . |
| | asarpatam | heirpeton | . . |
| | asarpatām | heirpetēn | . . |
| Plur. | asarpāma | heirpomen | serpebamus. |
| | asarpata | heirpete | serpebatis. |
| | asarpan | heirpon | serpebant. |

### Subjunctive, optative, and future (Latin).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | sarpēyam | herpoimi | serpem. |
| | sarpēs | herpois | serpes. |
| | sarpēt | herpoi | serpet. |
| Plur. | sarpēma | herpoimen | serpemus. |
| | sarpēta | herpoite | serpetis. |
| | sarpēyus | herpoiēn | serpent. |

### Perfect.

| Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|
| sasarpa | heirpa | serpsi. |

### Participles.

SINGULAR.

| | Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. | sarpan | herpōn | serpens. |
| Acc. | sarpantam | herpŏnta | serpentem. |
| Dat. | sarpatē | herpŏnti | serpenti. |

PLURAL.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom. | sarpantas | herpontes | serpentes. |
| Dat. | sarpadbhyas | herpousi | serpentibus. |

## THE VERB *to be.*

### Present.

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | asmi | ahmi | esmi | sum. |
| | asi | ahi | eis, essi | es. |
| | asti | aśti | esti | est. |
| Dual. | swas | . . | . . | . . |
| | sthas | . . | eston | . . |
| | stas | . . | eston | . . |
| Plural | smas | hmahi | esmen | sumus. |
| | stha | śta | este | estis. |
| | santi | hĕnti. | eisi | sunt. |

### Imperative.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | astu | . . | esto | esto. |
| Plural | santu | . . | estōsan | sunto. |

### Imperfect.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | āsam | . . | ēn | eram. |
| | āsīs | . . | ēs | eras. |
| | āsīt | . . | ēn | erat. |
| Dual | āswa | . . | . . | . . |
| | āstam | . . | ēton | . . |
| | āstām | . . | ētēn | . . |
| Plural | āsma | . . | ēmen | eramus. |
| | āstha | . . | ēte | eratis |
| | āsan | . . | ēsan | erant. |

### THE VERB *to stand.*

Present.

| | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SING. | tishṭhāmi | histāmi | histēmi | sto. |
| | tishṭhasi | histahi | histēs | stas. |
| | tishṭhati | histati | histēsi | stat. |
| PLURAL | tishṭhāmas | histāmahi | histamen | stamus. |
| | tishṭhatha | histatha | histate | statis. |
| | tishṭhanti | histĕnti | histāsi | stant. |

### THE VERB *to show* or *say.*

Preterite.

| | Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin |
|---|---|---|---|
| SING. | adikṣham | edeixa | dixi. |
| | adikṣhaś | edeixas | dixistis. |
| | adikṣhat | edeixe | dixit. |
| PLURAL | adikṣhāma | edeixamen | diximus. |
| | adikṣhata | edeixate | dixistis. |
| | adikṣhan | edeixan | dixerunt. |

The following are additional examples of similarity of form in the past tenses, combined in most cases with identity of sense.

| Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|
| avakshīt | . . | vexit | he carried. |
| akshipsi [I threw] | . . | scripsi | I wrote. |
| apaptam | epipton | . . | I fell. |
| apatam | epeson | . . | I fell. |
| asthām | estēn | . . | I stood. |

The subjoined instances exhibit the similarity in the formation of the reduplicated perfect between the Sanskrit and Greek.

| | SANSKRIT. | | | GREEK. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Root. | Perfect. | English. | Present. | Perfect. | English. |
| lip | lilēpa | I anointed | leipō | leloipa | I left. |
| śak | śaśāka | I was able | derkō | dedorka | I saw. |
| tup, tuph | tutōpa, tutōpha | I injured | tuptō | tetupha | I struck. |
| tap | tatāpa | I heated | thapto (from taphō.) | tetapha | I buried. |

I add some examples of conformity between the Sanskrit infinitive and the Latin supine.

| Sanskrit. | Latin. | English. | Sanskrit. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sthātum | statum | to stand. | janitum | genitum | to beget. |
| anktum | unctum | to anoint. | ētum | itum | to go. |
| vamitum | vomitum | to vomit. | swanitum | sonitum | to sound. |
| jnātum | notum | to know. | startum | strātum | to spread. |
| yōktum | junctum | to join. | sarptum | serptum | to creep. |
| pēshṭum | pistum | to pound. | | | |

The form of the Sanskrit desideratives, though not the signification, is found in Greek and Latin: thus we have *gignōscō*, (Greek,) and *nosco*, (Latin,) answering to *jijñāsāmi*, "I desire to know;" and again, *mimneskō* and [*re*]*miniscor*, answering to *mimnāsāmi*, "I desire to remember."

Again, Greek words like *paipallō*, *daidallō*, *paiphassō*, *pimplēmi*, *pimprēmi*, &c., though without the meaning, have the form of Sanskrit intensives, like *babhū*, *bambhram*.

In regard to the participles, also, there is a remarkable coincidence between the Sanskrit and the Greek. Some of the participles of the active voice have been already given. The following are some other specimens.

PERFECT PARTICIPLE ACTIVE.

| Greek. | | | Sanskrit. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| masc. | fem. | neuter. | masc. | fem. | neuter. |
| tetuphōs | tetuphuia | tetuphos. | tutupivān | tutupūshī | tutupivat. |

PASSIVE PARTICIPLES.

| Present. | | Future. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| diyamānas | didomenos. | dāsyamānas | dōsomenos. |

Sanskrit (neuter and masculine) bases in *man* correspond to the Latin in *men*: thus we have *sthāman*=*stamen*; *stariman* =*stramen*. Nominal forms in *tra*, also, are common to Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin: thus the Sanskrit *aritram*, *nētram*, *śrotram*, *gātram*, *vaktram*, *khanitram*, *vāditram*, correspond in form

to the Greek *niptron, plectron, lektron, pheretron, lutron, arotron,* and the Latin *mulctrum, spectrum, aratrum.*

The nominal form in *năs,* is common to Greek and Sanskrit: thus, the *hupnos,* (sleep,) of the one answers to the *svapnas* of the other.

Passive past participles in *ta* are common to Sanskrit with the other languages: thus,

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|
| jnātas | . . | gnōtos | (g)notus. |
| ajnātas | . . | agnōtos | ignotus. |
| dattas | dāto | dŏtŏs | dātus. |
| yuktas | . . | zeuktos | junctus. |
| labdhas | . . | lēptos | . . |

Compare also *bhăgnăs* in Sanskrit, with *stugnos, terpnos,* in Greek.

Abstract or other substantives in *tā, tāt, tēs, tas,* are also found in them all: thus,

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|---|
| nava-tā | aměrětāt | neo-tēs | novi-tas. |
| sama-tā | uparatāt | homo-tēs | facili-tas |
| laghu-tā | astatāt | platu-tēs | levi-tas. |

Forms in *tis* occur both in Sanskrit and Greek: thus,

| Sanskrit. | Greek. |
|---|---|
| ma-tis | mē-tis. |
| triptis | terpsis. |
| patis | posis. |

Instances of adjectives similarly formed:

| Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|
| malinas | pedinos | marīnus. |
| kulīnas | skoteinos | ferīnus. |
| divyas | hălios | egregius. |
| pitryas | patrios | patrius. |
| yaśasyas | thaumasios | censorius. |

Forms in *las* and *ras:*

| Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|
| chapălas | eikelos | tremulus. |
| taralas | trapelos | stridulus. |

Forms in *ras*:

| Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|
| madhuras | phoberos. | |
| subhras | psuchros | gnarus. |
| bhadras | lampros | purus. |

Feminine nouns are also similarly formed, as follows:

| Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|
| indrāṇī | theaina | matrona. |
| vărunāṇī | lukaina | patrona. |
| rudrāṇī | despoina. | |

Abstract nouns are also formed in Greek, as in Sanskrit, by changing the vowel of the root: thus, from the roots *bhid*, *krudh*, and *lubh*, are formed the nouns *bhēda*, *krodha*, and *lobha*; and so in Greek we have *tromos*, *phobos*, *trokhos*, *nomos*, *loipos*, from *tremo*, *phebomai*, *trekho*, *nemo*, and *leipō*.

We have examples of nouns in Latin and Greek resembling Sanskrit nouns in *ya*, such as these:

| Sanskrit. | Latin. | Greek. |
|---|---|---|
| mādhuryam | mendacium | theopropion. |
| naipunyam | principium | monomachion. |

Simple radicals are used in all three languages at the end of compound nouns and adjectives:

| Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|
| dharma-vid | pĕdotrips | artifex. |
| netra-mush | prosphux | index. |
| brahma-dwish | bouplēx | princeps. |

The use of *eu* and *dus* in Greek, corresponds to that of *su* and *dus* in Sanskrit: thus,

| Sanskrit. | Greek. |
|---|---|
| sukaras | euphoros. |
| sulabhas | eutrophos. |
| dustaras | dustropos. |
| dussahas | dusphoros. |

The following are instances of the employment of *a*, *an*, *i*, or *in* privative, in the three languages:

| Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|
| ajnāta | agnotos | ignotus. |
| an-isbṭhas | an-osios, | ineffabilis. |

The subjoined adjectives are similarly formed in Sanskrit and Latin from adverbs of time:

| Sanskrit. | Latin. |
|---|---|
| hyastanas | hesternus. |
| śwastanas | crastinus. |
| sāyantanas | vespertinus. |
| sanātanas | sempiternus. |

The use of various sorts of compound words is common to Sanskrit with Greek and Latin. Thus we have,

| Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|
| trirātram | trinuction | trinoctium | a period of three nights. |
| swapnakaras | hupnophoros | somnifer | bringing sleep. |
| sadābhramas | aeiplanos. | . . | always wandering. |
| arindamas | ippodamos | . . | foe-, steed-subduing. |
| devadattas | theodotos | . . | god-given. |
| mahāmātis | megalomētis | magnanimus | high-souled. |
| bhūridhanas | poluchrusos | . . | very rich. |
| bahumūrttis | polumorphos | multiformis | multiform. |
| chatushpād | tetrapous | quadrupes | four-footed. |
| sarūpas | summorphos | conformis | of the same form. |

Forms in *ana*, nouns and adjectives:

| Sanskrit. | Greek. |
|---|---|
| darpaṇam | drepanon. |
| vahanam | organon. |
| sobhanas | hikanos. |

Forms in *aka* or *ika:*

| Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|
| nāyakas | polemikos | medicus. |
| dhārmikas | rhetorikos | bellicus. |

Forms in *ant:*

| Sanskrit. | Greek. |
|---|---|
| dhanavān | doloeis. |
| dhanavantam | doloenta. |

Sanskrit nouns ending in *as*, corresponding to Greek and Latin nouns of the 3rd declension:

| Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|
| ayas | pseudos | foedus. |
| yaśas | mēdos | scelus. |
| apas | kēdos | opus. |

In Greek and Latin the comparative and superlative degrees are formed very much as in Sanskrit. The Greek has, however, two forms, like Sanskrit; the Latin only one.

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bhadra | husko | kleinos | longus | different meanings. |
| bhadra-tara | husko-tara | kleino-teros | long-ior | |
| bhadra-tama | śpentotama, | kleino-tatos | longis-simus | |
| swādus | . . | hēdus | suavis | sweet. |
| swādīyān | . . | hēdiōn | suavior | sweeter. |
| swādishṭhas | . . | hēdistos | suavissimus | sweetest. |

In Greek and Latin, as in Sanskrit, verbs are compounded with prepositions.

| Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. |
|---|---|---|
| apa-gachhati | ap-erkhetai | abs-cedo. |
| san-gachhati | sun-erkhetai | con-venit. |
| upa-dadhāti | hupo-tithēsi | sup-ponit. |
| pari-bhrāmyati | peri-erkhetai | circu-it. |
| pra-sarpati | pro-bainei | pro-cedit. |

In Latin, as in Sanskrit, verbs are compounded with nouns or adjectives.

| Sanskrit. | Latin. |
|---|---|
| parikhīkaroti | significat. |
| krishnīkaroti | magnificat. |

In Greek and Latin, adjectives agree in gender and number with the noun, just as in Sanskrit: thus,

| | Sanskrit. | Greek. | Latin. | English. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM. SIN. | swādŭs swăpnās | hēdus hupnos | suavis somnus | sweet sleep. |
| ACC. SIN. | swādŭm swăpnăm | hedun hupnon | suavem somnum | sweet sleep. |
| NOM. PLU. | swādăvas swapnās | hedues hupnoi | suaves somni | sweet sleeps. |
| NOM. SIN. | năvo dātā | neos dotēr | novus dator | new giver. |
| ACC. SIN. | năvăm dātărăm | neon dotēra | novum datorem | new giver. |

We must, therefore, conclude from the illustrations which have been given above, of the resemblances existing both in roots and inflections, between the Sanskrit, the Zend, the Greek, and the Latin, (viewed in contrast with the almost total want of similarity between the Sanskrit and other tongues, *e. g.* the Arabic,) that there is a close affinity between the various members of the

former group of languages; and that in fact, they are all descended from one common stock.

It may, however, be objected that the affinity which I have been seeking to establish between the Sanskrit, the Greek, and the Latin is disproved by the fact that, (while a portion of the words in these languages are identical with, or akin to each other,) the great majority of their words are different. If these languages had in reality had a common origin, their vocabularies must, it may be urged, have been entirely homogeneous, *i. e.* must have consisted of the same identical words, just as is the case with the Bengali, the Hindi, and the Mahratti, which are confessedly kindred dialects. To this I reply, First, that even a small proportion of common words, combined with great similarity in point of structure and inflection, is sufficient to demonstrate the common derivation of any two languages from one original stem, provided it can be shown (as it assuredly can in the case under consideration) that neither the words nor the inflections have been borrowed by the one language from the other. For how could the common possession by these two supposed languages, of even a small stock of words be otherwise accounted for? This community of words could not be accidental; for had there been anything of accident in the case, we should, beyond a doubt, have discovered the same casual resemblances between *other languages* — between Sanskrit and Arabic for instance, or between Greek and Arabic — as we discover between Sanskrit and Greek; whereas in point of fact we discover scarcely any such resemblances. The difference between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, in regard to the large majority of the words of which their vocabularies are composed, admits of an easy explanation. The speech of different branches of every great race of men, has (as I have already in part shown in p. 42.) an inevitable tendency, arising from a great variety of causes, to diverge more and more from the original type. This tendency is visible even in India itself, among men of the *same* branch of the Arian family. The vocabulary of the Vedas is very different from that of the later Sanskrit writings. Many

words which are common in the former have been entirely disused in later times, while new words unknown in the Vedas, have been introduced. If the Nighaṇṭu be compared with the Amara-kosha, (which may be supposed to contain the words in most general use in later Sanskrit,) many nouns will be found in the former, which are wanting in the latter, as well as in all other more recent vocabularies. I may instance such words as *tuvi*, 'much;' *napāt*, 'offspring;' *apas*, 'work;' *gmā* and *jmā*, 'earth;' *ketas*, 'knowledge;' *ākenipas*, 'wise;' *takma*, 'offspring;' &c.; which occur in the Nighaṇṭu, but will be sought for in vain in the Amara-kosha. In fact, many of the words in the Nighaṇṭu owe their insertion in that vocabulary entirely to the fact, that they had become obsolete in later times. Again, any one who is familiar with the different modern vernaculars of India, must be aware how much they differ from each other, not only in their grammatical forms, but also, frequently, in the words themselves which are employed by preference in each to denote any particular objects. Now, as we have already seen (pp. 8. 56.), all these dialects must at one time have issued from one and the same parent form of speech. But if such a divergence as this has actually taken place in dialects spoken by the different branches of one people, living in the same country, under nearly the same influences of soil and climate, and professing the same religion; must not a much wider divergence have of necessity arisen between the languages of tribes separated for thousands of years, and living in regions far apart from each other, under different physical conditions, and subject to the modifying action of different social, political, and religious institutions?

Such divergences between the languages of any two or more nations which have sprung from one common stock have, as I have already intimated, an inevitable tendency to become wider and more marked; so that, two dialects derived from the same original form of speech, though they at first differed but little from each other, will thus almost necessarily become more and more dissimilar from each other, the longer they have been separated from the parent root.

Peculiar circumstances, such as constant intercourse, and the possession of a common religion and a common literature, may, indeed, for a period of greater or less duration avert such a gradual divergence in language between two separate nations. This state of things is at present actually exemplified in the case of England and America. But these two nations have only become separated from each other for a comparatively short period; and it would be difficult to predict how long their identity of language may continue. So powerful, however, are the causes which operate in this case to maintain an absolute community of speech, that (notwithstanding the adoption in America of some new words, and a considerable number of phrases unknown in England) the two nations will, in all likelihood, continue to employ the same dialect for many ages to come. This result will, however, more probably arise from the English language undergoing a parallel alteration in both countries, than from its continuing entirely unchanged in either.

But we must be careful not to underrate the extent of the fundamental affinity in roots and words between the Sanskrit, the Greek, the Latin, and the other western languages of the same family. Even a cursory examination of such works as Professor Benfey's "Greek-Radical-Lexicon," [19] is sufficient to show that these coincidences are more numerous than might at first sight have been supposed, and that it is only an insufficient study of the variations undergone by different words in the several languages under review which prevents our perceiving that a considerable, though probably undeterminable, proportion of their vocabulary is essentially common to them all.

But, Secondly, there is a further circumstance by which the original affinity between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, and their ancient derivation from one parent stock are proved; which is this, that it is precisely those words and forms which are the most primitive, the most fundamental, and the most essential parts of

[19] Griechisches Wurzel Lexicon: 2 vols. Berlin, 1839 and 1842.

each language which they have in common. I mean, *First*, those words which express the natural relations of father, mother, &c., and kindred generally; *Secondly*, the pronouns; *Thirdly*, the words expressing number, and *Fourthly*, the forms of inflection. Thus, the words which Sanskrit has in common with Latin, Greek, and the other members of the Indo-Germanic stock are those which would be in use in the earliest stages of society, when men were simple and uniform in their habits and ideas, when they had few wants, few arts, little knowledge, no sciences, no philosophy, and no complicated institutions. But after the different tribes of the Indo-Germanic stock had departed in different directions, from their primeval abodes, and had settled in distant countries, they became in the course of time more and more different from each other in their religions, in their manners and customs, and in all their modes of life. The climates under which they lived were different; some settling within the torrid zone, while others migrated into temperate or even frigid latitudes. The aspects of nature, too, were very dissimilar in these different regions, some of them being level and fertile, others mountainous and unproductive; some situated on the shores of the ocean, and others at a distance inland. The natural productions of these different tracts, too, were various, as well as the animals by whom they were tenanted. Some of these countries, for instance, produced rice and the sugar cane, and were frequented by the elephant, the camel, the lion, and the tiger, while in others, these plants and animals were not indigenous. In consequence of all these local influences, the temperaments and habits of the men of different nations became exceedingly diversified. In level and fertile countries with hot climates, men became less active and energetic, owing to the relaxing effects of the heat, and the diminished necessity for labour; while the frames of those who settled in colder countries were both braced by the greater severity of the climate, and by the necessity of labour for extracting a subsistence from the less genial soil. Men settled on the shores of the sea, naturally became addicted to maritime pursuits, from which those living

inland were debarred. In this way different arts arose, different sciences were cultivated, and different social and political institutions were established. In some countries the active energies of the people were fostered by the existence of free forms of government: in others, the feeling of independence, perhaps originally feeble, was altogether crushed by despotism; while, on the other hand, the thoughtful tendencies which were native to the race, found their full scope in scientific pursuits, or in philosophical and religious contemplation. With these great and manifold changes in all the conditions of life, corresponding alterations in language, intended to express new objects and new ideas, would be necessarily introduced, which became more and more extensive and decided as centuries rolled on.[20] The different stages of this process which I have been describing, are more or less distinctly exemplified in the different languages which have been specified as connected by affinity with the Sanskrit. Of these languages, the Zend (or language of the Zend Avesta) is that which had been separated from the Sanskrit for the shortest space of time, and subjected to the action of the smallest modifying influences, at the period when it took the form in which the most ancient of the extant Zoroastrian writings are composed; and accordingly, it has a far closer resemblance to the Sanskrit than either the Greek or the Latin. This will be made clear by the evidence which I shall hereafter adduce. The Greek and Latin languages, on the other hand, had been separated from the Sanskrit for a much longer interval of time, and affected by novel influences of far greater potency, when they became embodied in the oldest compositions which have descended to us; and they accordingly differ from the Sanskrit, in most respects, much more widely than the Zend does.

[20] The divergences, apparent or real, between the Arian languages, are due "to alterations, to losses occasioned by the lapse of time, and also to the incessant efforts (so to speak) of the language to replace the lost forms, and to follow step by step the gradual developments of the several nationalities."—Pictet, "Origines Indo-Européennes, ou les Aryas Primitifs," p. 5. See Appendix, Note A.

I conclude, therefore, from the foregoing considerations, that the differences which exist between the Sanskrit, the Greek, and the Latin languages, as we find them in their later stages, afford no reason for doubting that they had, at an earlier period, a much more intimate connection, and were, in fact, originally identical.

Another objection may, however, perhaps be raised by some person looking at the subject from an Indian point of view. It is quite true, he may urge, that an affinity exists between the Sanskrit, the Zend, the Greek, and the Latin; but this quite tallies with what our Śāstras record (Manu x. 43. 44; Vishṇu-purāṇa, iv. 3., p. 375 of Wilson's translation)[21], that the Yavanas (Greeks), Pahlavas (Persians), and Kambojas, were originally Kshatriya tribes, who became degraded by their separation from Brahmans and Brahmanical institutions; and it is also quite clear from the proofs which you have adduced of affinity between these languages and our sacred tongue, that the former are mere Prakrit or Apabhraṅśa dialects, derived from Sanskrit. Your hypothesis of these languages, as well as the Sanskrit, being derived from some earlier form of speech now no longer extant, is quite gratuitous; for, what the heretical Bauddhas falsely say of their Apabhraṅśa, which they call Pali, is literally true of Sanskrit, the language of the gods, that it is that primeval and eternal form of speech[22] from which all others are derived.

To this I reply that, even if Zend, Greek, and Latin could be shown, on the ground of their affinity with Sanskrit, to be derived from it, it would still be quite impossible for the objector to prove on the same ground, that Sanskrit was the parent of all the languages which are spoken by all the tribes which have inhabited India or the adjacent countries. Arabic, as has been shown, is quite distinct from Sanskrit, and has scarcely any perceivable affinity with it of any kind. And the same is the case with the languages current in the south of India, the Tamil, the Telugu, the Canarese, and the Malayalim (the tongues spoken by

[21] See Part First of this Work, p. 177.

[22] See Mahābbāshya, as quoted above, p. 170.

the inhabitants of Draviḍa, Telinga, Karnāṭa, &c.) For Manu himself (as we have already seen p. 160), makes a distinction between the languages employed by the people of India; which shows that forms of speech of a non-Arian *i. e.* non-Sanskrit character were spoken by part of the population. So that the point which the objector is, perhaps, really seeking to establish, viz., that the Arian-Indians are the original progenitors of all the surrounding nations, and their language, Sanskrit, the parent of all other languages, could never be proved. It cannot be admitted, however, as I have already remarked, that Greek and Latin are derivatives from Sanskrit. There is no proof of this theory, and all probability is against it. The whole grammatical character of Greek and Latin is that of independent languages; and any one who will compare their structure and composition with that of the Indian Prakrits, which every one allows to be derived from Sanskrit, will at once perceive the difference of the two cases.

First. — The *grammatical forms* of the Prakrits (as we have already seen, p. 81), have evidently resulted from a disintegration or simplification of the older Sanskrit forms. Thus the Sanskrit words *mukta, gupta, sūtra, mārga, artha, śreshṭha, dṛishṭi, pushpa, dakshiṇa, madhya, satya, tushṇīm, laghu, sādhu, sabhā,* are in Prakrit softened down into *mutta, gutta, sutta, magga, attha, setṭha, diṭṭhi, puppha, dakkhiṇa, majjha, sachcha, tuṇhīm, lahu, sāhu,* and *sahā.* The further back we trace the Prakrit forms, the more nearly do they resemble the Sanskrit, till they are found to be almost identical; while the more modern the grammatical forms are which the Prakrits have taken, the more widely do they diverge from their Sanskrit prototypes. The case is quite different with the Latin and Greek. A few instances may, no doubt, be discovered where the *modes* in which the Latin or Greek forms *vary* from the Sanskrit correspond in some degree to those changes of softening or simplification[23] which the

[23] There are very few of the Prakrit forms which are not simplifications of the Sanskrit. Even in such a case as that of the word *itthī*, or *isthiyā*,

Sanskrit forms have undergone in Prakrit. Thus the Latin word *humus*, "the ground," differs from the Sanskrit *bhūmi* in the same way that the Prakrit *sahā* differs from the Sanskrit *sabhā;* the Greek *dolikhos* "long," varies from the Sanskrit *dīrgha* somewhat in the same manner as the Prakrit *sirī* or *hirī*, vary from the Sanskrit *śrī* and *hrī;* and the Greek *hupnos* "sleep," appears to simplify the Sanskrit *svapna*, by much the same process as that by which the Prakrit reduces the Sanskrit *sthāna* "place," to *ṭhāna*. But the few instances which can be adduced, are quite insufficient to prove that even in these cases the Greek or the Latin words are borrowed from the Sanskrit.[24] They may with quite equal probability have been derived from

"woman"(from *strī*), the change is a simplification, as one or more consonants are thrown out, and the vowel *i* is prefixed to facilitate pronunciation. But the great majority of Sanskrit words commencing with a double consonant are modified in Prākrit, not by *prefixing* a vowel, but either by rejecting one of the members of the compound consonant, or by interposing a vowel *between* them. Thus the Sanskrit *sthā* becomes in Prakrit *ṭhā*, *sthala* becomes *thala*, *skandha* becomes *kandha*, *spriś* becomes *phuns*, *kshamā* becomes *khamā*, *snāna* becomes *ṇhāna*, *sneha* becomes *saneha*, *mlāna* becomes *malāna*.

[24] It may, however, be further objected that my argument is incomplete, as all Prakrit or derivative dialects do not modify the original language in the same manner. Thus French and Spanish, it may be said, do not corrupt the Latin in the same way as Italian does. Now, as it has been stated above (p. 155) that the Indian Prakrits corrupted Sanskrit very much in the same way as the *Italian* corrupted Latin, so (the objector may urge) Zend, and Greek, and Latin, may have modified Sanskrit in a somewhat different way, as *French and Spanish* modified Latin. To this I reply that in the case of all these derivatives of Latin, viz. Italian, French, and Spanish, it can be shown (1.) that the people who spoke these languages were either entirely or in part descended from the Romans; or that, at least, they received their language from the Romans who conquered and colonised their respective countries; but it cannot be shown either that the Greeks or Romans were descended from the Indians, or in any way received their languages from Hindusthan. (2.) In the case of the French and Spanish languages, as well as in that of the Italian, the exact process and the very steps can be pointed out by which they changed the forms of the Latin words; but it cannot be shown, in regard to the Greek or Latin, that their words are in any way corruptions of Sanskrit originals.

an earlier language from which the Sanskrit is also drawn. There is no appearance of Greek and Latin words having resulted from any modification of the Sanskrit: for, while many of their forms have a close *resemblance* to the Sanskrit forms, they are at the same time, for the most part, *equally original* with those of that language; and many of them are so different from the Sanskrit, and so peculiar, that they could not be deduced from it according to any laws of mutation recognized by philologists. The Greek and Latin forms can, therefore, only be derived from another and anterior source, from which the Sanskrit forms also, as well as they, have flowed. It is, further, the opinion of distinguished comparative philologists, that Latin and Greek have preserved some forms of inflection, which are more ancient than those preserved in Sanskrit; and represent more exactly the original forms of the supposed parent language. For instance, the Latin has preserved the nominative of the present participle ending in *ens*, such as *ferens*, (carrying), while Sanskrit has only the form in *át*, *bharat* for example, which seems to have been originally *bharans* or *bharant*.[25] The same is the case with various roots, nominal and verbal, in which the Sanskrit appears to have lost the original form of the word, while it has been preserved in Greek or Latin, or both. Thus the Sanskrit word *tára*, "a star," seems to have been originally *stára*, a form which has been preserved in the Greek *astēr* and *astron*, and in the Latin *astrum*, as well as in the Zend *stáre*, and the Persian *sitárah*. Again, it seems probable that the Sanskrit root *bhanj*, "to break," may have been originally *bhranj*, with an *r*, which has been preserved in the Latin *frango*, and the Greek *rēgnumi* or *frēgnumi*. And the Latin forms of the prepositions *sub* and *super*, (corresponding to the Greek *hupo* and *huper*,) appear to be more ancient than the Sanskrit forms *upa* and *upari*.

[25] Bopp, Comp. Grammar, para. 129. Ad. Regnier, Traité de la formation des mots dans la langue Grecque, note 1, pp. 68, 69.

Second: But the fact that the Greek and Latin languages are in their origin independent of the Sanskrit may be further shown by the following considerations:[26]

* (1.) On a careful examination of the roots contained in the Dhātupāṭhas, or lists of radicals in the classical or modern Sanskrit, it will be found that many of these verbal roots are compounded, or resolvable into simpler forms. But as those roots, notwithstanding their composite character, are treated by the Indian grammarians as ultimate radicals, it is clear that those grammarians have forgotten the simpler forms from which the others have been derived. Of this remark the following roots are exemplifications, viz.: *vyanj*, *vyay*, *vī*, *vyadh*, *pyush* or *vyush*, *prush*, *vēksh*, and *ujhh*, which, though evidently compounded of *vi*+*anj*, *vi*+*ay*, *vi*+*i*, *vi*+*adh*, *pi* or *vi*+*ush*, *pra*+*ush*, *va* for *ava*+*īksh*, *ut*+*hā* (*jahāti*), are yet treated by the Indian grammarians as if they were simple roots.

* (2.) The Sanskrit has not only undergone alterations such as the above, but the modern language has actually lost some fuller forms of roots, which are still discoverable in the Vedic hymns. As an instance of this may be mentioned the root *grabh*, (see above, p. 228,) "to seize," which in the modern Sanskrit has become *prakritized* into *grah*. Other instances are the Vedic *dhurv*, and *dhvṛi*, as compared with the modern *hvṛi*; and the Vedic *śundh*, as compared with the modern *śudh*. The following Vedic roots are not to be found in modern Sanskrit at all, viz.[27]: कन्, दृह्, जञ्, ग्रव्, वेण्,

[26] I am indebted for the substance of the paragraphs marked with an asterisk (*) to the kindness of Professor Goldstücker, who is dissatisfied with the views propounded in the passage immediately preceding, as he rejects the theory which has hitherto been in favour with philologists that the fullest forms are the oldest. Compare for the roots given in paragraph * (1.) Professor Benfey's "Complete Sanskrit Grammar," pp. 73, ff.

[27] On the hypothesis that the fuller form is the more ancient, I may also cite the Vedic forms *ścham* (as compared with the modern *cham*) and *śchand* (as compared with the modern *chand*), as given in Professor Benfey's "Complete Grammar," p. 73.

सच्, म्यच्, त्सर्, भ्रज्, मन्द्, वेस्, वच्, तुर्व्, भर्व्, &c. &c.

* (3.) But it is not only a fact that the modern Sanskrit has lost some of the oldest verbal roots; the same appears to be the case with the more ancient Vedic Sanskrit also, from which some primitive radicals had already disappeared. This is indicated by the circumstance that there exist certain Sanskrit nouns, which must have been derived from radicals which in their verbal form are not discoverable even in the Vedas. Thus from the existence of the word *vīrudh*, "a shrub," and *nyagrōdha* (a particular tree), we may infer that there once existed a root *rudh*, "to grow," which in this sense (for the modern Sanskrit has still *rudh* in the sense of "to stop,") now survives only in its weakened form *ruh*.[27*] In like manner it appears from the nouns *dhanus*, "a bow," *pra-dhana*, "battle," and *ni*+*dhana*, "death," that the root *han*, "to kill," must once have existed in the stronger form *dhan*=Greek, *θαν*.

* (4.) Some of the verbal roots which have been lost by both the modern and the Vedic Sanskrit, and which cannot be traced there even through their preservation in derivatives, may yet be recovered from oblivion by the aid of the Greek or Latin. Thus the Sanskrit *hu*, "to sacrifice," must have originally existed in the stronger form *dhu*, as we may infer from the Greek *θυω*; and in the same way the earliest form of the Sanskrit *guh*, "to hide," was probably *gudh*, as the Greek *κευθω* would lead us to suppose. So too from the Greek forms *νηθω*, "to spin," and *λειχω*, "to lick," we may argue that the original Sanskrit forms of *nah* and *lih* must have been *nadh* and *ligh*.[28] Several forms of substantives and other words also can be shown, in which the Greek forms are stronger than the

[27*] See Pictet's "Origines Indo-Européennes," p. 145.

[28] So too the root *duh* "to milk," must have once been *dugh*, as is proved not only by its passive participle *dugdha*, but also by the Zend substantive *dughdhar* and the Greek *θυγατηρ*, "daughter," a word which most philolo-

Sanskrit. Thus, instead of the Sanskrit *hima*, "winter," *ahi*, "a serpent," *hyas*, "yesterday," we find in Greek the stronger forms χειμων, ἐχις or ὀφις, χθες or ἐχθες.

From the facts detailed in the preceding paragraphs, which prove that compound roots have been taken by the Indian grammarians for simple ones, and that old forms have been modified or lost in the modern, or even in the Vedic, Sanskrit, it is clear that that language (especially in its modern form) cannot be always regarded as a fixed standard, according to which the originality of the Latin and Greek forms could be estimated. And the supposition that any of the Greek or Latin words[29] are borrowed from Sanskrit by a prakritizing process is satisfactorily disproved by the fact that various instances have been adduced of the very opposite nature, where the Greek and Latin forms, instead of being like the Prakrit ones, weaker or simpler than the Sanskrit, are stronger or more complex. For, whether or

gists think, originally signified "milker." Professor Goldstücker is of opinion that *all* the Sanskrit roots ending in *h* are weakened or *prakritized* from stronger forms. Thus he thinks *gāh*, *vrih*, *spṛih*, for instance, were once *gādh*, *vridh*, *spṛidh*, (compare *sparddh*). *Dah*, on the contrary, he conceives was once *dadh*, as is shown by the substantive *antardadhana*; but here we have also the noun *nidāgha*, which would lead us to infer a form *dagh*.

Conversely we sometimes see the aspirated consonant of the root changed into *h*, as in the case of the participle *hita* (*vi-hita*, *ni-hita*, &c.) from the root *dhā*, "to hold." This weakening process commenced in Sanskrit has been perpetuated in Prakrit, where the aspirated consonants of Sanskrit are softened into *h*, as where the root *kath* "to say" becomes *kah*. See Vararuchi, ii. 27.

[29] I except, of course, such words as have evidently passed from Sanskrit into Greek at a period comparatively modern; such as κάρπασος from *karpāsa*, and others of the same kind. But, on the other hand, a good many Greek words can be shown to have been received into the Sanskrit astronomical literature within the last two thousand years, such as *hōrā*, *kendra*, *lipta*, *dṛikāṇa*, *anaphā*, *sunaphā*, *apoklima*, *paṇaphara*, *jāmitra*, *meshūraṇa*, and *rihpha*, derived from the Greek ὡρα, κεντρον, λεπτα, δεκανος, ἀναφη, συναφη, ἀποκλιμα, ἐπαναφορα, διαμετρον, μεσουρανημα, and ῥιφη.—Colebrooke Misc. Ess. ii. 526, ff; Weber. Ind. Stud. ii. 254.

not the existence of these stronger or more complex forms in Greek and Latin proves that the Sanskrit once had similar forms, which have now disappeared, it is at least sufficient to neutralise the argument,—drawn from the presence of certain other stronger or more complex forms in Sanskrit than we encounter in the corresponding words in Greek and Latin,—that those languages are derived from Sanskrit: for, by parity of reason, the presence of some forms (which we have actually seen to exist) in Greek and Latin stronger or more complex than those discoverable in corresponding cases in Sanskrit, would prove that these weaker Sanskrit forms were mere corruptions of the Greek and Latin words.

Third: — The Indian Prakrits have derived by far their *largest stock of words* from the Sanskrit; the few which they contain that are not Sanskrit, having been derived from the languages of the indigenous tribes who inhabited Northern India before the arrival of the Aryas. On the other hand, only a certain proportion, as we have seen, of the words which compose the vocabulary of the Greek and Latin languages are common to them with the Sanskrit: the greater part of the words are, if not different, at least, difficult to identify as the same. Now, had Latin and Greek been derived from the modern, or even from the Vedic Sanskrit, the number of words indisputably common to all three languages must have been very much greater. It is true that more may be said in favour of the hypothesis that the Zend has been derived from Sanskrit; but there are sufficient reasons for believing that Zend is a sister and not a daughter of Sanskrit; and consequently, that both have a common mother of a more primeval date.

I therefore conclude, that Greek and Latin, as well as Zend, are not derived from Sanskrit, but have, together with it, grown out of some older parent language,[30] which was superseded by its

[30] "An indubitable result of the researches which have recently been pursued into the Arian tongues is that, notwithstanding the various alterations

daughters, and became extinct, because it ceased to be employed as a spoken tongue, and because (as being the language of a very early stage of society) it has not been preserved in any literary records. To render this supposition conceivable, I may remark that the same fate,—extinction—might have befallen the Sanskrit itself, and the Latin, when they, in like manner, gave birth to the various dialects which have superseded them as living and popular forms of speech, had it not been that they flourished at periods of much more advanced civilisation than the unknown primeval language to which I have referred, and have been perpetuated by means of the numerous writings, secular and sacred, of which they are the vehicles.

The primitive language to which I have just alluded is thus characterised by M. Pictet, in the work above referred to, pp. 1, 2:- "While thus augmenting in numbers and in prosperity, that prolific race was labouring to create for itself, as a powerful means of development, a language admirable by its richness, its force, its harmony, and the perfection of its forms; a language in which were spontaneously reflected all its impressions, not merely its mild affections and its simple admiration, but also its nascent aspirations toward a higher world; a language abounding in images and in intuitive ideas, bearing within it, in germ,

which they have undergone, they all bear the clear impress of one common type, and are consequently descended from one real, living, primeval language, which was complete in itself, and which was employed by a whole nation as its common organ of communication. This is not a mere hypothesis devised to explain the relations by which those languages are connected with each other: it is a conclusion which forces itself irresistibly on our belief, and which possesses all the validity of the best established fact. When we perceive so large a number of languages, of a character so marked, converging in all the details of their structure towards a common centre in which every particular fact finds its cause, it becomes impossible to admit that that centre has never had any other than a purely imaginary existence, and that that marvellous agreement arises solely from an instinctive impulse peculiar to a certain race of men."—A. Pictet, Origines Indo-Européennes, p. 43.

all the future affluence both of the most sublime poetry and of the most profound reflection. At first one and homogeneous, that language, already perfected to a very high degree, served as a common instrument of expression to this primitive people, as long as it continued within the limits of its native country."

SECT. III.—*That affinity in language implies affinity in race: modes in which a greater or less diversity of language and institutions would arise in different branches of the same stock: central Asia the birth-place of the Aryas.*

The facts and considerations adduced in the preceding section have, I think, proved beyond a doubt that the Sanskrit language has a common origin with the Zend, the Greek, and the Latin; and that all these tongues have sprung (like branches from one stem) out of the same parent language, now extinct. This conclusion being established, it follows as a necessary corollary that the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans also, that is, the nations who spoke the languages derived from that one common source, were themselves also descended from one and the same stock; *i. e.*, that they had for their common ancestors the ancient people who spoke the extinct language to which I have referred.[31] It must, therefore, be taken for an established fact that the ancestors of the Indians at one time lived together with the ancestors of the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, in one country, as one nation. It is true that we have no histo-

31 "The radical affinity of all the Arian languages necessarily leads us," as we have seen, "to regard them as having sprung from one single primitive language. . . .

"Now as a language presupposes always a people to speak it, it further follows that all the Arian nations have issued from one single source, though they may have become occasionally blended at a later period with some foreign elements. Hence we may with certainty infer the existence, at a pre-historic period, of an Arian people, free, originally, from all foreign intermixture, sufficiently numerous to have supplied those swarms of men which issued from its bosom, and sufficiently endowed by nature to have created for itself the most beautiful perhaps of all languages. This people, though unknown to tradition, is in a certain degree revealed to us by philological science."—Pictet, pp. 5, 6.

rical record of this primeval period; but we are inevitably led to assume the existence of an anterior state of things such as I have asserted, by the fact, that no other supposition will account for the philological phenomena which we encounter in later history. From the effects, we are entitled to reason back to the existence of a cause adequate to their production. We have to explain the fact, that there have been found in different regions of the world, lying far apart from each other, various nations speaking languages which evince an unmistakeable affinity to one another; and there is no other mode of explaining this circumstance but by supposing that these nations have radiated in different directions from one central country which was their common birthplace, and where their ancestors all employed one common language.

If we pursue our inquiries further, we shall find that certain data exist by means of which we can discover with some probability, what was the order of time in which these several nations separated themselves from the original stock, and departed towards those new countries which they continued to occupy in later times.

Let us suppose a numerous and powerful nation occupying an isolated position in the centre of a vast region as yet thinly peopled. Let us next imagine what would be the probable course of affairs in such a society, and then compare this hypothetical picture with the traces remaining to us in history of the actual events. We have first then to contemplate this original race, gifted with vigorous powers both of mind and body,[31*] as still residing in its primitive abode. When in the natural order of events, this active and gifted race began to multiply, the countries which they at first occupied either as shepherds or agriculturists, would soon be found too narrow for the supply of their growing necessities.[32] If fresh lands fit for pasture or for cultiva-

[31*] M. E. Renan, however, thinks that the Arian race was not *originally* superior in intelligence to the Semitic, Hamitic, and other races, but the contrary. Histoire des langues Sémitiques, p. 487.

[32] "But a constant and rapid increase of the population could not but

tion existed unoccupied in the vicinity of their original territory, they would insensibly extend their borders as occasion required. If there was not territory near at hand which would yield them a subsistence, the more energetic and adventurous members of the community would be driven by the pressure of necessity to inquire whether ampler possessions might not be found at a distance; and they would depart in larger or smaller detachments in quest of new abodes. This process of migration, when once commenced, would go on without intermission. The first adventurers would be speedily followed by other successive bands till at length new nations were formed at a greater or less distance from the original country.

The earliest emigrants, who thus departed to distant regions, passing probably through countries differing in climate and productions from their primeval abodes, encountering new and strange objects, and inured to new pursuits, would gradually lose many of their ancient customs; and in exchange would acquire new habits, and along with them, also, new modes of speech. Those portions of the original nation, on the contrary, which continued to live together in their ancient country, or had gradually extended themselves together over adjacent regions, would preserve more nearly their original customs, religion, and language. But at length a period might arrive when the same causes which had occasioned the separation of the earlier emigrants, or some other causes of a different nature, would lead to a disruption in the

speedily bring about gradual migrations, which would be directed towards regions more and more distant. From that time forward the separation of the nation into distinct tribes, the greater infrequency of communication and changes in their modes of life, occasioned a certain number of dialects to spring forth out of this common language, and to develope themselves, without, however, as yet, becoming detached from their primitive source; and at the same time the original character of the race, becoming modified according to circumstances, gave birth to a variety of secondary national characteristics, destined, at a later period, to expand, to exhibit their own peculiar life and to play their part in the great drama of humanity."—Pictet, p. 2.

remaining part of the nation also. It would become divided into different sections; which would separate from one another and establish themselves in different, but probably adjacent, countries, and would never exhibit so wide a divergence from each other in respect of their religion, their institutions, and their general character, as those earlier emigrants who had settled in regions at a greater distance.

The first case which I have above hypothetically put is that of the Greeks and Romans,[33] who appear to have broken off at an early period from the great Arian nation and departed to the westward, in quest of new habitations. The distance of the countries, viz., Greece, Italy, and the surrounding provinces, where they ultimately settled, from the cradle of the Arian race, and their wide divergence in religion and language from the eastern branches of the same stock, concur to prove that they separated themselves from the latter at a very remote era. On the other hand the vicinity of the region occupied by the Greeks to that inhabited by the Romans, would lead us to suppose that the ancestors of these two nations migrated from the east at about the same period, though the differences which we discover between the language and religion of the one people as compared with those of the other, compel us to assume a subsequent separation of the two, and an independent development of each.

The second case which I have above supposed, of two branches of the original Arian stock continuing to live together for a considerable time after the other branches had become separated, is that of the Perso-Arians and the Indo-Arians. Both from the closer vicinity to each other of the countries in which the Persians and the Indians eventually settled, *i. e.*, north-eastern Persia and north-western India, and from the nearer affinity which we perceive between the language and the mythology of these two

[33] For the sake of simplifying the view I give of the question, I purposely omit all mention of the German and other branches of this great family, and of the periods at which they migrated westward.

races than we find to exist between the language and mythology of either and those of the Greeks or the Romans, we are led to conclude that the ancestors of the Indians and Persians remained united in one community (either in their primeval seats or in some region further to the south) to a much later period than the other branches of the Arian race.

The propositions, then, which I have already proved, or shall now attempt to prove are the following:—

First: That the Indo-Arians, that is, the higher classes of the northern Indians, or the Brahmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas, are descended from the same Arian race as the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans.

Second: That the primeval abode of this original Arian race was in some country of central Asia, situated out of, and to the north-west of, India.

Third: That different branches gradually separated themselves from this parent stock, and migrated to new countries, west, south, or east of their early home.

Fourth: That the ancestors of the Indians and Persians appear to have lived together as one nation to a later period than the other branches of the Arian race, but at length separated, the Indo-Arians migrating into India, while the Perso-Arians occupied the territory of Bactria, and the adjacent provinces.

I shall not consider it necessary, in the discussion of the subject, to handle each of these propositions in the succession here indicated; but shall rather take up the different topics in the order in which the process of proof which I shall follow may render most convenient.

### SECT. IV.—*That there is no objection arising from physiological considerations, to classing the Indians among the Indo-European races.*

In proving, as I have already done, that the Greek and Latin languages have a common origin with the Sanskrit, I have adduced the principal portion of the proof which I had to bring

forward of the common origin of the nations by which those several languages have been spoken. The mythologies of the Greeks and other western nations have, indeed, been considered to present some points of contact with that of India, as when the Erinnys of the Greeks has been identified with the Saranyu of the Vedas, the Centaurs with the Gandharvas, Minos with Manu, Ribhu with Orpheus, Hermes with Sāramēya, the Phlegyes with the Bhṛigus, &c.;[34] but it would carry me too far if I were to attempt to offer any account of the views which have been propounded on this subject. I will now therefore direct my attention mainly to exhibiting at greater length the grounds which exist for supposing that the Persians and the Indians are descended from the same common ancestors; and that, after remaining united together, as the constituent parts of one nation, for some time subsequent to the migration to the westward of the other branches of the same stock, they, too, were at last broken up by the force of circumstances, into two distinct nations, which settled in two separate, though adjacent, regions. I will subsequently pass in review the additional reasons which can be adduced for supposing that the Indians immigrated into India from the north-west.

Before, however, proceeding to carry out the intention here indicated, it will be expedient briefly to show that on physiological grounds there is no reason for denying that the Indians are descended from the same stock as the nations of Europe. In their physical characteristics the Brahmanical and other high caste Indians belong, as well as the other nations who have just been mentioned, to the so-called Caucasian type. It might, indeed, at first sight, be supposed that the dark-complexioned Hindus, could not possibly be of the same race as the fair-coloured natives of England or Germany. But a closer ex-

[34] See Kuhn's Herabkunft des Feuers und des Götter-tranks. Berlin, 1859; and Müller's Paper on Comparative Mythology, in the Oxford Essays for 1856.

amination of the different nations to whom, on philological grounds, we are led to assign a common origin, will show that they vary in complexion very much according to the climatic influences of the regions in which they ultimately settled, and in which they have been resident for a long series of ages. If we look to the south-eastern and north-western extremities only of the vast tract over which the Indo-European races have spread, we shall, no doubt, find that there is a complete contrast in point of colour between the occupants of those widely separated countries. But the same wide contrast does not exist between the inhabitants of those tracts, (included within the same limits,) which are adjacent to each other. The Indians do not differ very much in complexion from the Persians, nor the Persians from the Greeks, nor the Greeks from the Italians, nor the Italians from the Germans or the Anglo-Saxons. These different nations alter in complexion by almost imperceptible shades varying nearly according as their respective countries range successively from south-east to north-west. While the Indians may be denominated black, the Persians are olive-coloured, the Greeks have a still fairer complexion with a ruddy tinge, and the Italians approach yet more nearly in hue to the Teutonic tribes. It is therefore to the varying action of different climatic influences, that we have to ascribe the diversity of colour which characterises these several nations. The scorching rays of an Indian sun, the high temperature of an Indian climate, and the peculiar diet afforded by an Indian soil, acting on the Indo-Arians during the long period of 3,000 years or more since they first settled in Hindusthan, appear amply sufficient to account for the various peculiarities of complexion, of feature, and of corporeal structure which now distinguish that section of the Indo-European family from the kindred branches to the west. In fact the action of these causes is sufficiently conspicuous in India itself. The people of Bengal, who are of the same race as the inhabitants of the north-western provinces, have, owing to the greater moisture of their climate,

and the want of that bracing temperature which the latter enjoy for three or four months of every year, gradually become darker in complexion and less robust in their structure. Again it is notorious to every one who has lived in northern India, that a Brahman from the temperate province of Kashmir is far fairer than a Brahman of Mathurā or Benares; in fact he has quite the look of a foreigner. It has also been observed that an Indo-Briton, or person partly of European and partly of Indian descent, becomes fairer from living in the colder climate of Europe: but immediately recovers his ancient complexion on being exposed again to the heat of the tropics. It does not appear necessary to enter further into the discussion of this subject, as the preceding observations will suffice to remove any doubts as to the common origin of the Indians and the nations of Europe, which may have arisen from their differences of complexion.[35] I will only add that, if the considerations here urged have any foundation, the Indo-Arians must have been much fairer in complexion at the period of their first arrival in India, and while they still continued to occupy the north-westerly regions of the Panjab, than they became at a later period, when they had been longer exposed to the fierceness of the Indian sun, and when they had penetrated further to the south-east. And we accordingly find that this supposition tallies with some expressions in the Vedic hymns, the oldest of which, perhaps, date from that early period. Thus, in the text quoted from the Rig-veda, iii. 34. 9. in the First Part of this work p. 43, we find an allusion made to the colour of the Arian immigrants: "He destroyed the Dasyus, and protected the Arian colour:" and in R.-V. ii. 12. 4. the same word is applied to designate the Dasyu tribes: यो दासं वर्णमधरं गुहा कः। "He who swept away the base Dāsa colour." Though the word *varṇa*, "colour,"

[35] A full discussion of this subject may be found in Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, i. 400—409. See also A. W. von Schelgel, Essais, pp. 466, ff., and Müller's "Last Results of the Turanian Researches," in Bunsen's Outlines of the Phil. of Univ. Hist., vol. iii. pp. 343—353.

which is here employed, came afterwards to be current as the designation of caste, there is every reason to suppose that it was originally used to discriminate the fair-coloured Aryas from the dark-complexioned aborigines. But such a term of contrast if employed now, would not possess half the force which it did at a time when we must suppose the distinction of colour between the Aryas and the savage tribes whom they encountered, to have been far more palpable than it is in modern times.

### SECT. V.—*Reasons for supposing the Indians and Persians in particular to have a common origin.*

I will now proceed to indicate the various grounds which exist for concluding that the Indians and the Persians, or Iranians are not only descended from the same original stock; but that they continued to form one community even after the other kindred tribes had separated from them and migrated to distant regions.

The first proof is the closer affinity which, as we have already seen, subsists between the Zend, the language of the ancient Persians,[35*] and the Sanskrit. From the examples of resemblance both in roots and inflections which have been adduced in Section II., it is manifest that, upon the whole, the Zend is more nearly related to the Sanskrit, than either the Greek or the Latin are. It is true that in the lists of parallel words which have been there brought forward, the parallel Zend words have been often omitted, while the Greek and Latin words have been adduced: but this does not arise from the Zend forms having had no existence, but either from their not having been discovered in any of the extant Zend texts, or from their not being readily accessible. But the Zend words which have been brought forward will be generally found to stand in a relation of closer resemblance to the Sanskrit than either the corresponding

[35*] For an account of the various old Iranian dialects, see Spiegel in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur verg. Sprachf. ii. 6, ff, and App. note B.

Greek or Latin words do. I subjoin some further comparative lists of Zend and Sanskrit vocables to which the Greek and Latin either offer no equivalents in form, or equivalents which generally bear a much more distant resemblance to the Sanskrit than the Zend words present. These lists are the following:

I. NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, ETC.

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | English. |
|---|---|---|
| yebhyas | yaēibyo | whom (dat. pl.) |
| yadi[36] | yēdhi, yēzi | if |
| ōjas | aōzō | splendour |
| mithuna | mithwana | a pair |
| giribhyas | gairibyo | hills (dat. plur.) |
| taruna | turuna, tauruna | a youth |
| ukta | aokta | spoken |
| strī | strī | woman |
| antar | antarĕ | within |
| dātāram | dātārem | giver (acc.) |
| putram | puthrĕm | son (accus.) |
| gaus | gāus | cow |
| kas, kā, kim | ko, kā, kat[37] | who (mas. fem. neut.) |
| kwa | kwa | where? |
| kshattra | ksathra | power |
| gharma | gărĕma[38] | warm |
| vritraghna | vĕrĕthraghna | slayer of enemies |
| mantra | manthra | hymn |
| pāda | pādha | foot |
| padānam | pādhanaṅm | feet (gen. pl.) |
| ap | ap | water |
| subhadha | hufĕdrīs | very good |
| turya | tuirya | fourth |
| tritayam | thrishva | three, a third |
| chatūshthayam | chathrushva | four, a fourth |
| atharvānam | āthravanĕm | priest (acc.) |
| adhwānam | adhwanĕm | road (acc.) |
| vairya | vairya | strong, strength |
| viśva | viśpa? | whole |
| sā | hā | she |
| sākrit | hakĕrĕt | once |
| asi | ahi | thou art |
| asmai | ahmai | to him |
| swar | hwar | heaven |
| swa | hwa | own |
| jihwā | hizva | tongue |
| sahasra | hazanra | thousand |
| hasta | zasta | hand |
| māhāntam | mazantem | great (acc. masc.) |
| yuyam | yuzhem | you |
| vari | vairi | water |
| tanu | tanu | body |
| śayānam | śayanĕm | sleeping (acc.) |
| sapta sindhavas | haptahendu | country of the seven rivers |
| āryya | airya | respectable |
| sōma | hōma | moon-plant |

[36] In Greek, *ei*; in Latin, *si*. [37] In Latin, *quis, quæ, quod*.
[38] In Greek, *thermos*.

II. VERBS.

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | English. |
|---|---|---|
| karōti | karōiti / karenōiti | he does |
| akṛinōt | kerenaōt | he did |
| dădărśa | dădărĕsa | he saw |
| dădmăsi | dădĕmahī | we give |
| āsăn[39] | anhĕn | they were |
| santam[40] | hĕntem | being (acc. mas.) |
| vahati | vazaiti | he carries |
| charati | charaiti | he goes |
| bhavati | bavaiti | he is |
| bhavanti | bavainti | they are |
| dadāti | dadhaiti | he gives |
| studhi | stuidhi | praise (2d pers. imp.) |

| Sanskrit. | Zend. | English. |
|---|---|---|
| asti | asti | he is |
| ātāpayati | ātāpayĕiti | he kindles |
| prādēśayam | frādaēsaêm | I enjoined |
| jagmushī | jaghmūshī | having gone (perf. part. nom. fem.) |
| staumi | stāomi | I praise |
| hanti | zainti | he kills |
| yaj | yăz | to sacrifice (root) |
| prīnāmi | afrināmi | I love, praise |
| bhavishyanti | bushyainti | they shall be |

With the preceding lists should be compared the comparative table of Sanskrit and Persian words given above in p. 228, ff., which will contribute to supply their deficiencies. Many Persian words will there be found which in form closely resemble the Sanskrit terms having the same signification, while on the other hand there are in numerous instances no Greek or Latin nouns which closely correspond to the same Sanskrit words both in sound and in sense. Now if even the modern Persian language, notwithstanding the many modifications it has undergone from diverse influences throughout a long course of centuries, can still supply so large a number of words which so closely resemble the Sanskrit terms, we may safely conclude that the Zend or early Persian, (which was the ancient medium through which the modern Persian derived all the Arian words which it possesses,) must itself have contained a far larger number of words bearing a very much closer resemblance to the Sanskrit.

These views receive confirmation from the following remarks

[39] In Greek, *ēsan*.

[40] In Greek, *onta*.

of Professor Müller in his, "Last Results of the Persian Researches," pp. 111, 112. :—

"It is clear from his (M. E. Burnouf's) works and from Bopp's valuable remarks in his Comparative Grammar, that Zend in its grammar and dictionary is nearer to Sanskrit than any other Indo-European language. Many Zend words can be re-translated into Sanskrit simply by changing the Zend into their corresponding forms in Sanskrit . . . . Where Sanskrit differs in words or grammatical peculiarities from the northern members of the Arian family, it frequently coincides with Zend. The numerals are the same in all these languages up to 100. The name for thousand, however, (*sahasra*) is peculiar to Sanskrit, and does not occur in any of the Indo-European dialects except in Zend, where it becomes *hazanra*. . . . . These facts are full of historical meaning; and with regard to Zend and Sanskrit, they prove that these two languages continued together long after they were separated from the common Indo-European stock."

The second argument in support of the proposition I have undertaken to prove is, that both of the nations in question, viz., the Indians and the Persians, apply to themselves, in their earliest written records, the same name of *Aryas*.

The Vedas are, as I have already shown, the oldest of all the Indian books. They are, therefore, not only the most authentic source of information in regard to the earliest language of the Indians, but there is every probability that they would preserve more distinct and exact traces of their primeval history than we find in the other Śāstras, which were composed at a later period, when the most genuine traditions of the origin of the race had been obscured and corrupted. From the Vedic hymns accordingly it does, in fact, appear more distinctly than from any other of the Indian writings, that the progenitors of the Hindus were originally called Aryas. We find this name applied to the forefathers of the higher classes among the Indians (in contradistinction to the *Dasyus*, who appear to have been

a people of a different race, and to have been settled in India before the Aryas), in such passages of the Vedas as the following: Rig-veda i. 51. 8, "Distinguish between the Āryas and those who are Dasyus; chastising those who observe no sacred rites, subject them to the sacrificer." R.-V. i. 103. 3, "Indra, thunderer, who art wise, hurl thy shaft against the Dasyu, and augment the might and glory of the Ārya."[42]

By means of this word Aryya, then, we are able to connect the early Hindus, with the early Persians. For, first, it appears that in ancient times the Medes also (who were eventually included in one empire with the Persians) bore the name of Arians. This is clear from the following passage of the ancient Greek historian Herodotus, who narrated the wars of the Greeks and Persians. In the Seventh Book of his history, Sect 62, we have the following statement:—Ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι· ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους, μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὔνομα· αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. "They (the Medes) were formerly called Arians by all. But when the Colchian Medea arrived among these Arians from Athens, they also changed their name. The Medians say these things of themselves." A nation or tribe bearing the name of Arians is mentioned by Herodotus in Sect. 66 of the same book. Ἄριοι δὲ τόξοισι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατά περ Βάκτριοι· Ἀρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμνης. "The Arii were armed with Median bows, but in other respects like the Bactrians. The Arii were commanded by Sisamnes." These last mentioned Arians appear to have dwelt in the neighbourhood of Herat. (See Bähr's Herod. iii. 93, and vii. 62.) The same tribe is mentioned by the same author as paying 300 talents tribute along with the Parthians, Chorasmians, and Sogdians: Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ Ἄρειοι τριακόσια τάλαντα (iii 93). The same people are

[42] The original passages, with many other similar ones, will be cited further on.

mentioned by Arrian (iii. 8. 4) as forming part of the army of Darius: Σατιβαρζάνης δὲ ὁ Ἀρείων σατράπης Ἀρείους ἦγε. The Arizanti are specified, Herod. i. 101, as one of the seven Median tribes. In Herodotus we further find several proper names which are compounded with the word Arius; thus, vii. 67, the commander of the Kaspians is called Ariomardus. In the 78th chapter of the same book, another person of the same name, and son of Darius is mentioned. In other passages of the same writer and other ancient authors (viz. Xenophon, Polybius, Arrian, and Quintus Curtius), such names as Ariabignes, Ariaramnes, Ariaces, Ariaius, Arimazes and Ariarathes (=Aryaratha), are assigned to Persians. The word Ἄριον, which occurs in the ancient Greek dramatist Æschylus, Choephoroi, verse 423, (ἔκοψα κομμὸν Ἄριον, &c., "I have chaunted a Persian dirge,") is interpreted by the scholiast on the passage as equivalent to Περσικόν, "Persian."

But, secondly, it is not only in the Greek authors that we find the name of Arians applied to the Medes or Persians; in the most ancient books of the Zoroastrian religion also, which are composed in the Zend language, the same word, as a designation of the early Persians, is of frequent occurrence. I give, in a somewhat abridged form, Professor Spiegel's abstract of the evidence which exists of the common origin of the Indians and Persians, as one of the most recent and complete. (See his translation of the Avesta, vol. i. Introduction, pp. 4, ff.) One part of this evidence is their common name of Arya.

"Ethnography, supported by her two handmaids, physiology and philology, has in recent times demonstrated that a single race (the Indo-Germanic) has spread its branches over the whole space from India to the most westerly point of Europe. The most highly gifted and civilised nations, both of the ancient and modern world, are all derived from this stock; viz., the Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, Slavonians, and perhaps also the Celts. All these nations are branches of one single original family, whose abodes have not yet been certainly de-

termined, and perhaps will never be ascertained in a way to preclude all dispute; but it is probable that, in the earliest times, all these races dwelt together as one people, on the elevated table-land of central Asia. The emigration of this people from their original seats, and their separation into different branches, are events which lie anterior to all history. Faint indications of the degree of culture possessed by these tribes before their separation may be derived from the terms for particular conceptions which have remained common to them all; and the amount of their knowledge is not to be estimated too low. If the state had not been organised by them, the family, at least, had been already regulated, as is proved by the community of the words designating relationships. We find names common to them for the different kinds of cattle, and for different implements of husbandry. Their conceptions of the gods, on the contrary, seem to have continued to be of the most general character.[43]

"But in addition to this possession by the whole Indo-Germanic race of particular words, there exists a closer relationship between single members of this family. This closer relationship is to be explained by the fact, that some of these races continued to live together even after the others had separated from them. Thus, for example, the Greeks and Romans have much that is common to both in their languages and in their ideas, which cannot be explained by their original relationship. But in no instance is this affinity more striking or intimate than between the Indians and the Persians. These two branches must have lived long together after quitting their common cradle, as is clearly proved by

[43] See Kuhn's Dissertation in Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 321, ff. The elaborate work of M. Adolphe Pictet, above quoted (p. 267), has for its object to discover, by a comparison of the primitive words common to all the Arian nations, what was their original and common country, and what the condition of the parent nation as regarded its civilisation and its intellectual and religious culture before the separation of the several branches. The first volume, relating to the physical characters of the country, has alone appeared as yet.

linguistic and mythological considerations. The three dialects of ancient Persian with which we are acquainted, viz., that of the cuneiform inscriptions, that of the second part of the Yaśna, and the language of the remaining portions of the Avesta, have all such a close affinity to the oldest Indian language, the Sanskrit, as exhibited in the Vedas, that they might almost be all called dialects of one and the same language. Other grounds, particularly of a mythological character, speak no less strongly in proof of the two tribes (Indians and Persians) having adhered long to each other. It is of especial importance that they both call themselves by the same name. Ārya, signifying *honourable*, in ordinary speech, and derived from *arya*, which means *lord* in the Vedas, is the most usual, and the most ancient name of the Indian people. (R-V. i. 51, & Sāma-V i. 1. 1. 5.) Among the Indians the term Mlechha, which denotes an impure barbarian, is the opposite of Ārya. The same is the case among the Persians. According to the Persian laws of euphony, *ārya* had to be changed to *airya*, a name which the Persians long applied to themselves, and out of which the more modern *Irān* has arisen; a name, too, with which Herodotus had become acquainted. To this word *airya*, another word, *anairya*, or non-iranic, is opposed.

"It is, however, established that this original Arian race, from which, at a later period, the Indians and Persians separated themselves, cannot have lived as one community either in India or in Persia. We must regard it as demonstrated that the Indians who spoke Sanskrit were not autochthonous in Hindusthan. The oldest seats of the Indians of which we find any mention made, are to be placed in the Panjāb. In the First Fargard of the Vendidad, verse 73, a country called Hapta Hendu, or India, is mentioned, which, in the cuneiform inscriptions, is called Hidus. It was not understood for a long time what was signified by Hapta Hendu, Seven-Indias, but the Vedas have explained this name. In the Vedic hymns we find the name Sapta-Sindhavas, the seven rivers, still employed to

designate the country of the Indians.[44] From the Panjāb, the Indians, as their later books testify, advanced further towards the east; first, as far as the Sarasvatī; after which, they spread themselves over the whole of northern India; and only at a late period into the south of the peninsula. The Persian legends conduct us with the same distinctness to a primeval country in the north."

We shall shortly have to return to this question, and inquire what were the primeval seats of the Arians. In the mean time, I revert to the affinities of the Persians and Indians.

The third proof of this which I have to adduce is, the coincidences which are discoverable in the ancient mythologies of the two nations. On this subject, Professor Spiegel proceeds, pp. 6, ff.:—"We have already said that the different branches of the Arian family had but few words in common connected with theology. The most widely diffused term is the general designation of God as *the shining*, formed from the ancient root, *div* or *dyu*, 'to shine.' From this is derived the Sanskrit *deva*, the Latin *deus*, the Lithuanian *dievas*, the German *zio* and *tyr*, the Greek Ζεύς, and also Jupiter from *Diespiter*. The old Persian *daēva* belongs to the same root, but has (on what grounds we shall presently discover) a somewhat different signification. More intimate mythological affinities are only to be found between particular branches of the Indo-Germanic family, as between the Greeks and Romans, and in particular, between the Indians and Persians. A number of personages found in the Veda correspond in name with others in the Avesta, and must originally have been completely identical, though in the course of events, it has naturally occurred that this similarity has become more or less effaced. One personage whose identity was the first to attract attention, is the Yama of the Indians [the son of Vivasvat], the Yima of the Persians [who is the son of Vivanghat]. In the Vedas and Upanishads we already meet with Yama as the King of the Dead. He inhabits a particular world, where he has

[44] Spiegel, Avesta, vol. i. p. 66, note 3.

assembled the immortals around him. Among the ancient Indians his world is not a place of terrors, but its expanses are full of light, and the abodes of happiness, pleasure, and rapture.[45] In Irān, Yima is a fortunate monarch, under whose rule there was neither death nor sickness. After he has for some time continued to diffuse happiness and immortality, he is obliged to withdraw with his attendants to a more contracted space, on account of the calamities which threaten the world. Here lies, according to my view, the point of connection between the two legends. The Indian regards Yama simply as the king of the dead, or, at least, of the blessed: the Persian limits the number of the blessed to a determinate number, who are selected to live with Yima.

"A second renowned personage in the Persian heroic poetry, who also occurs in the Vedas, is Thraêtaŏno, the descendant of Athwya, the Frēdun, or Feridun of a later period, with whom the Trita of the Veda is connected. Trita is the son of Āptya, and, according to the Vedic accounts, he fights with a serpent, and smites the three-headed dragon with seven tails, and liberates the cattle. Quite similarly, Thraêtaono destroys a pestilent serpent with three heads, three girdles, six tails, and a thousand powers.

"A third personage, who can be pointed out in both the Indian and Persian mythology, is Sāma Kereśāśpa, the man of heroic temper, and the same as the Kriśaśva of the Indians, who, it is true, has not yet been discovered in the Veda, but who was known to the Indian grammarian Pāṇini, and is frequently named in the Purāṇas as a warlike ṛishi. (Rāmāy. i. 23. 12 Schleg.; i. 31. 10. Gorres.)

"To these three personages may now be added a fourth, Kava Uś, or Kāvya Uśanas of the Vedas. This is the person called Kāus at a later period in the Persian legends. Unfortunately,

[45] See R.-V. ix. 113. 7—11. quoted by Roth in the Journal of the German Orient. Society, iv. 426, ff. The original passage will be given in the App. note C.

the stories of Kava Uś are so few and so brief, that I can scarcely venture to indicate their connection more in detail. (See Weber Vāja.-S. Spec. II. 68 note.)

"In addition to this identity of personages, we find also that the Indians and Persians have some important ceremonies in common. We shall here only mention two, though a closer examination of the Persian liturgy will no doubt bring others to light. The first is the Soma or Homa offering. (See also vol. ii. 69.) In both the Indian and the Persian religions, soma, or haŏma, which is identical with it, is the name of a plant, the juice of which is pressed out and drunk, with certain religious forms; and in both religions Soma is also a god.[46] Soma and Haoma have also a great number of epithets common to them, which clearly show how short a period had elapsed since the Persian and Indian adherents of this worship had become separated from each other."

The Indians and Persians have also some other of their deities in common, *e.g.*, Mittra and Aryaman.

"In the Veda," (says Dr. F. Windischmann, Mithra, p. 54. 56. and 63), "Mittra occurs as the son of Aditi (boundless space), and hence parallel with the sun, and stands almost always inseparably associated with Varuṇa. He appears to belong to a race of gods who are already disappearing, and has resigned a portion of his functions to Indra. In the Veda Mitra is the light, while Varuṇa is to be understood of the sky, especially the nocturnal sky. The connection of Mitra and Varuṇa in the Veda is analogous to that of Mithra and Vayu in the Zend texts. Mithra is thus an ancient national god of the Arians; and the character under which he is represented in the Zend Avesta has many points of resemblance to the Vedic Mittra, though it has also essential differences of Zoroastrian origin. Aryaman, who is to be understood of the sun, appears in R.-V. i. 36. 4, and elsewhere along with Mitra and Varuṇa.

[46] See Windischmann, Ueber den Somacultus der Arier; and App. note D.

His name signifies companion or friend, and he also occurs in the Zend texts." Spiegel, (in his note to the 22nd Fargard, vol. i. p. 266), says of him, "It is to be lamented that the god who is here designated by the name of Airyama occurs but seldom, and is but briefly noticed in the Avesta; for he is unquestionably the ancient Indo-Germanic deity, who is mentioned in the Vedas under the name of Aryaman."

I proceed with my quotation from Professor Spiegel's Introduction, i. 8: Secondly, "The reception of neophytes into the sacred society is performed among both peoples, the Persians and the Indians, by investing them with a girdle or thread. In the case of a Brahman the investiture is to be performed in the eighth year after his birth or conception, in the case of a Kshattriya in the eleventh, and of a Vaiśya in the twelfth. But the period of investiture for a Brahman has not finally expired till his sixteenth year, for a Kshatriya till his twenty-second, or for a Vaiśya till his twenty-fourth.[47] After the investiture, the teacher is to instruct the pupil in reading the Vedas, and in the rites of purification. (Manu, ii. 69; Yājñavalkya, i. 15). Up to his seventh year the Parsee is incapable of doing any evil; and if he does any thing wrong, the blame of it falls on his parents. In India he is invested with the Kosti or sacred girdle in his seventh year; among the Parsees who live in Kirman, the ceremony is postponed till the tenth year. From the seventh to the tenth year, half the blame of the offences which the child commits, falls upon his parents. With his tenth year the boy, according to the view of the Ravaets, enters formally into the community of the Parsees; according

[47] Aś alāyana Gṛihya-Sūtra, i. 20.; अष्टमे वर्षे ब्राह्मणमुपनयेद् गर्भाष्टमे वैकादशे क्षत्रियं द्वादशे वैश्यम्। आ षोडशाद् ब्राह्मणस्यानतीतः काल आ द्वाविंशात् क्षत्रियस्य आ चतुर्विंशाद् वैश्यस्य अत ऊर्ध्वं पतितसाविचीका भवन्ति॥

to other books the fifteenth year appears to be that in which he is admitted into religious fellowship.

"All these traces of a common development which we have just pointed out between the Indians and the Persians have their origin, of course, in a pre-historical period, when both nations lived together undivided. Traces can also be discovered which lead to the conclusion that the separation of these two races was occasioned, in part at least, by religious causes.[48] Even if it have been accidental that Ahura, the highest god of the Persians, was, under the designation of Asura,[49] reckoned among evil spirits by the later Indians, it can scarcely have happened by chance that the Devas of the Indians have, under the name of Daēvas, been transformed into evil spirits and allies of Angra Mainyus; that Indra, the highest god of the earliest Hinduism, is in like manner, banished to hell; and that Śarva occurs as an evil spirit, while the Indians have considered this name worthy to be a designation of Śiva, one of the three highest deities of the later form of their religion. The conjecture is therefore not unnatural that religious differences may have been one of the grounds of separation. Still, even after their separation, the Indians and Persians did not remain without some knowledge of each other's progress. They were not too far separated to render this possible; and the

[48] In his second volume, however, Professor Spiegel adds, on this subject, the following reservation:—"In the first vol. I have alluded to a religious alienation; but too much importance is not to be ascribed to this view, and no adventurous hypotheses should be built upon it. Even without the assumption of a religious alienation it is quite conceivable how gods, who were held in honour by the one people, should be degraded to the infernal regions by the other. . . . . That which gives probability to the assumption of an actual alienation between the Indians and the Iranians on account of their religious conceptions, is the fact that the number of these opposing conceptions is not inconsiderable," pp. cix. cx.

[49] Derived from *asu* = *prajnā*, "wisdom," in the Nighaṇṭu. The word *asura* has also a good sense in Vedic Sanskrit; it means *sarveshām prāṇadah*. Comp. Sāyaṇa on R.-V. xxxv. 7. 10.

Vendidad (i. 74) still shows an acquaintance with India under the name of Hapta-Hendu, *i.e.* Sapta Sindhavah, the land of the seven rivers, which was a designation of the Vedic India."

On the same subject Professer Müller remarks: "Still more striking is the similarity between Persia and India in religion and mythology. Gods unknown to any Indo-European nation are worshipped under the same names in Sanskrit and Zend; and the change of some of the most sacred expressions in Sanskrit into names of evil spirits in Zend, only serves to strengthen the conviction that we have here the usual traces of a schism which separated a community that had once been united." (Last Results of Persian Researches, p. 112.)

From the three-fold argument above stated, drawn—(1st) from the striking similarity between the Sanskrit and Zend, (2nd) from the common name of Arya, which I have shown to be applied to themselves by both the Indians and the Iranians, and (3rd) from the coincidences between the religion and mythology of these two nations, I conceive that a powerful confirmation is derived to the conclusion which I have been endeavouring to establish, namely, the common origin of all the nations to which the name of Indo-European has been applied. If even from philological considerations alone we are entitled to assume the descent of the Indians, Iranians, Greeks, and Romans, from the same common ancestors, our general conclusion is very greatly strengthened when we can (in the case of two of these nations) add to the arguments founded on language, a variety of others derivable from community of name, and, to a certain extent, of tradition and of mythology.

SECT. VI.—*Was India the Primitive Country of the Aryyas or Indo-European races?*

As we have been led by the preceding investigation to conclude (1.) that the Sanskrit, the Zend, the Greek, and the Latin languages must all have had a common origin; (2.) that the races also who employed these several languages were all branches of

one great family; and (3.) that consequently these different branches must at one time have lived together as one nation in one country:—we have now to determine what that country was. First, then, was India the common cradle of the Indo-Germanic races, and did the other branches of that great family all migrate westward from Hindusthan, while the Indo-Arians remained in their primeval abodes? or, Secondly, are we to assume some other country as the point from which the several branches of the race issued forth in different directions to the various countries which they eventually occupied?

Mr. A. Curzon maintains[60] the first of these two theories, viz. that India was the original country of the Arian family, from which its different branches emigrated to the north-west and in other directions.

The opinion that the Arians are a people of an origin foreign to the soil of India, which they are presumed to have invaded and conquered, imposing their religion and institutions on the so-called aborigines, is rejected by him as one founded on very insufficient data, and as resting on no well-established historical grounds. He thinks that it is a course opposed to the evidence of facts based on the results of comparative philology to maintain that the barbarous aboriginal tribes of India, destitute of written records, traditional religious system, or well-defined institutions, can be more ancient than the Arian-Hindus, the possessors of an early civilisation. These rude tribes may, in his opinion, have sprung from some of the barbaric hordes, who, under the name of Śakas, Hūnas, &c. are mentioned by Sanskrit writers as having invaded India, and who, after their defeat, may have taken refuge in the hills and forests of Hindusthan.

Reviewing the different possible suppositions as to the way in which the Arians may have entered India, Mr. Curzon infers (1.) that they could not have entered from the west, because it is clear that the people who lived in that direction were descended

[60] Journal Roy. Asiat. Soc. vol. xvi. pp. 172—200.

from these very Arians of India, such descent being proved by the fact that the oldest forms of their language have been derived from the Sanskrit (to which they stand in a relation analogous to that in which the Pali and Prakrit stand); and by the circumstance that a portion of their mythology is borrowed from that of the Indo-Arians. Nor (2.) could the Arians, in his opinion, have entered India from the north or north-west, because we have no proof from history or philology that there existed any civilised nation with a language and religion resembling theirs which could have issued from either of those quarters at that early period and have created the Indo-Arian civilisation. It was equally impossible (3.) that the Arians could have arrived in India from the east, as the only people who occupied the countries lying in that direction (the Chinese) are quite different in respect of language, religion, and customs from the Indians, and have no genealogical relations with them. In like manner (4.) the Indians could not have issued from the table-land of Thibet in the north-east, as independently of the great physical barrier of the Himālaya, the same ethnical difficulty applies to this hypothesis as to that of their Chinese origin. And (5.) the Indians cannot be of Semitic or Egyptian descent, because the Sanskrit contains no words of Semitic origin and differs totally in structure from the Semitic dialects, with which on the contrary the language of Egypt appears, rather, to exhibit an affinity. And (6.) "no monuments, no records, no tradition of the Arians having ever originally occupied, as Arians, any other seat than the plains to the south-west of the Himalayan chain, bounded by the two seas defined by Manu (memorials such as exist in the histories of other nations who are known to have migrated from their primitive abodes), can be found in India."

Mr. Curzon (7.) regards as illogical the inference, that because the Arians spread at an early period to the south of India, as they did also to the west and north-west, they must have originally issued from some unknown region to invade and conquer India itself. In the same way, he urges, it might be

argued that the Romans invaded Italy from some unascertained quarter (instead of springing from one region of Italy), because they extended their dominion to the south, as well as in other directions. In explanation of their movements, he quotes the passage of Manu, ii. 17, ff., (which will be hereafter given at length,) and assumes, in accordance with the indications which it affords, that the earliest seat of Indian civilisation was in Brahmāvartta; and that the Arians, as they increased in numbers and advanced in social progress, gradually moved forward to the central region called Madhyadeśa, and eventually to Āryāvartta, the tract between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, extending from the eastern to the western sea. Mr. Curzon admits the existence of a non-Arian people and nationality, viz., the Tamulian in the south, which he conceives may have been forming contemporaneously with the rise of the Arian community in the north; though he thinks that there is nothing to indicate that the Tamulians, or the hill tribes, or any other indigenous race, were ever in possession of Āryāvartta (the country north of the Vindhya) before its occupation by the Arians.

His conclusion (founded on the assumption that all the languages of the Arian family have been framed from a Sanskrit basis, and are only modified and corrupted forms of what was once the original tongue of the Arian race of India) is therefore the following, viz., that either (1.) the nations whose speech is derived from Sanskrit have sprung from the gradual dispersion of the ancient Arian race of India, such dispersion being occasioned by political or religious causes, issuing in the expulsion from India of the defeated parties, and their settlement in different unoccupied countries chiefly to the westward: or (2.) that the Arians invaded the countries to the west and north-west of India, and conquered the various tribes inferior to themselves, who were there in possession, imposing upon them their own institutions and language. Of these two alternative suppositions he conceives the latter to have the greater probability in its favour.

I have stated the opinion of Mr. Curzon on this question, together with his arguments, in considerable detail, as it represents the view to which the Indian reader will, no doubt, incline as the most reasonable; and it is therefore only fair that all that can be urged in its behalf should be fully stated.

Before discussing Mr. Curzon's hypothesis, I shall adduce the statement given by Mr. Elphinstone (History of India, vol. i. p. 95, ff. 1st edition) on the same subject. It will be seen that after reviewing the arguments on both sides, this distinguished author leaves it undecided whether the Hindus sprang from a country external to Hindusthan, or were autochthonous.

"On looking back to the information collected from the Code [of Manu] we observe the three twice-born classes forming the whole community embraced by the law, and the Sudras in a servile and degraded condition. Yet it appears that there are cities governed by Sudra kings, in which Brahmins are advised not to reside (chap. iv. 61), and that there are 'whole territories inhabited by Sudras, overwhelmed with atheists, and deprived of Brahmins." (Chap. viii. 22.) The three twice-born classes are directed invariably to dwell in the country between the Himawat and the Vindya Mountains, from the eastern to the western ocean. But though the three chief classes are confined to this tract, a Sudra distressed for subsistence may dwell where he chooses. (Chap. ii. 21—24.) It seems impossible not to conclude from all this that the twice-born men were a conquering people; that the servile class were the subdued aborigines; and that the independent Sudra towns were in such of the small territories, into which Hindostan was divided, as still retained their independence, while the whole of the tract beyond the Vindya Mountains remained as yet untouched by the invaders, and unpenetrated by their religion. A doubt however soon suggests itself whether the conquerors were a foreign people, or a local tribe, like the Dorians in Greece; or whether, indeed, they were not merely a portion of one of the native states (a religious sect, for instance) which had outstripped their fellow-

citizens in knowledge, and appropriated all the advantages of the society to themselves.

"The different appearance of the higher classes from the Sudras, which is so observable to this day, might incline us to think them foreigners; but without entirely denying this argument (as far at least as relates to the Brahmins and Cshetriyas) we must advert to some considerations which greatly weaken its force.

"The class most unlike the Brahmins are the Chandalas, who are nevertheless originally the offspring of a Brahmin mother, and who might have been expected to have preserved their resemblance to their parent stock, as, from the very lowness of their caste, they are prevented mixing with any race but their own.[51] Difference of habits and employments is, of itself, sufficient to create as great a dissimilarity as exists between the Brahmin and the Sudra; and the hereditary separation of professions in India would contribute to keep up and to increase such a distinction.

"It is opposed to their foreign origin, that neither in the Code [of Manu], nor, I believe, in the Vedas, nor in any book that is certainly older than the Code, is there any allusion to a prior residence, or to a knowledge of more than the name of any country out of India. Even mythology goes no further than the Himalaya chain, in which is fixed the habitation of the gods.

"The common origin of the Sanskrit language with those of the West leaves no doubt that there was once a connection between the nations by whom they are used; but it proves nothing regarding the place where such a connection subsisted, nor about the time, which might have been in so early a stage of

[51] [See Part First of this work, p. 176, and Manu x. 12, there quoted. It is clear, however, that we are not to take these accounts of the formation of the different castes, written at a time when the Brahmanical system was fully developed, and in the interest of its defenders, as furnishing the true history of their origin. See Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 407.—J. M.]

their society as to prevent its throwing any light on the history of the individual nations. To say that it spread from a central point is a gratuitous assumption and even contrary to analogy; for emigration and civilization have not spread in a circle, but from east to west. Where, also, could the central point be, from which a language could spread over India, Greece, and Italy, and yet leave Chaldea, Syria, and Arabia untouched?

"The question, therefore, is still open. There is no reason whatever for thinking that the Hindus ever inhabited any country but their present one; and as little for denying that they may have done so before the earliest trace of their records or traditions."

Mr. Elphinstone then proceeds to explain how he thinks castes may have originated.

SECT. VII.—*Central Asia the cradle of the Arians: opinions of Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Spiegel, Renan, and Pictet.*

These views of Mr. Curzon, of which I have given a summary in the preceding section, are opposed to the general consent of European scholars. A. W. von Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Weber, Roth, Spiegel, Renan, and Pictet, however differing on other points, all concur in this, that the cradle of the Indians as well as of the other branches of the Indo-Germanic race is to be sought for in some country external to India.

I shall proceed to give some extracts from the writings of these eminent authors; and shall finish with a summary of the arguments which seem to carry most weight in favour of the conclusion which they have adopted.

The first authority whom I shall cite is A. W. von Schlegel, who in an essay *On the origin of the Hindus* [52] systematically discusses the question under consideration, in all its bearings. He treats of the migratory movements of ancient nations, of

[52] *De l'Origine des Hindous*, published originally in the 2nd vol. of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, London, 1834; and reprinted in his *Essais Littéraires et Historiques*. Bonn, 1842.

the traditions of the Hindus regarding their own origin, of the diversities of races, of the physiological character of the Hindus and of the indigenous Indian tribes, of the bearing of comparative philology on the history of nations, on the relations of the Arian languages to each other, and finally deduces the results to which he is led by the convergence of all these various lines of investigation. As I have already treated at length of some of these subjects, I shall only cite two passages, the first of which furnishes a reply to Mr. Curzon's argument against the immigration of the Hindus from any foreign region, drawn from the absence of any national tradition to that effect. It is as follows: —

"In enquiring into the birth-place of any people, and into the route by which, and the period at which they have travelled to their present abodes, we are naturally tempted first of all to interrogate the popular tradition on these points: but if we do so, it may easily happen that either no answer at all, or a false one, will be obtained. An illiterate people, ignorant of writing, which has adopted a stationary life, after a long and arduous migration, might, after a few centuries easily lose all recollection of its change of habitation: or if certain vestiges of such a change were preserved, it might be impossible for a people so circumstanced to indicate with precision the point of departure; as for this purpose a general knowledge of the shape of continents and of seas would be necessary. It has often happened that tribes in a barbarous state have emigrated, either impelled by necessity, or to avoid some powerful neighbour. The utmost that such tribes could do might be to direct their journey with tolerable exactness according to the four cardinal points: shaping their course so as to avoid any unexpected difficulties which might arise, they would suffer themselves to be guided by chance; and their only measure of distance would be the fatigue and the duration of their march." (Essais, p. 444.)

The following is the passage in which Schlegel sums up the results of his researches: —

"If we admit (and it is my conviction that the more deeply the subject is investigated the more indubitable will the conclusion appear) that the derivation of the [Indo-European] languages from one common parent justifies the inference that the nations who spoke them also issued from one common stock; that their ancestors, at a certain epoch, belonged to one sole nation, which became divided and subdivided as its expansion proceeded; — the question naturally arises, what was the primeval seat of that parent nation? It is nowise probable that the migrations which have peopled so large a part of the globe should have commenced at its southern extremity, and have been constantly directed from that point towards the north-west. On the contrary, every thing concurs to persuade us that the colonies set out from a central region in divergent directions. According to this supposition the distances which the colonists would have to traverse up to the time of their definitive establishment, become less immense; the vicissitudes of climate to which they were exposed, become less abrupt, and many of the emigrant tribes would thus make an advantageous exchange as regards fertility of soil, and the temperature of the air. And where is this central country to be sought for, if not in the interior of the great continent, in the neighbourhood, and to the east, of the Caspian Sea? It may perhaps be objected that the country in question is now occupied by people of a different race: but to how many countries has it not happened to undergo a total change of their inhabitants? The prolific parent-country of so many swarms of expatriated colonists might, from that very circumstance, be converted into a desert. . . . . It is probable that, since the commencement of history, the nature of this country has changed, and that in former times it was more favourable than now to agriculture and to population. According to my hypothesis, then, the ancestors of the Persians and Hindus must have emigrated from their early seats toward the south-west and the south-east; and the forefathers of the European nations towards the west and the north. . . . . I conceive that the tribes

which migrated towards Europe followed two great routes; the one along the northern shores of the Black Sea; while the other traversed Asia Minor, and crossed the Ægean Sea, or the Hellespont, Thrace, Illyria, and the Adriatic. It was indubitably by this latter route that Greece and Italy received their colonists." (Essais, p. 514-517.)

Professor Lassen also decides against the hypothesis that India was the birth-place of the Indo-European races. He says [53]:—

"It is, as we have seen, a result of modern investigation that the ancient language of the Indians is so intimately related to those of the other Indo-Germanic nations as to establish the original unity both of these languages and nations. We are therefore driven to the conclusion either, 1st, that the Indians migrated to India from some other primeval seat, or, 2nd, that all the kindred Indo-Germanic nations had their origin in India. The following considerations determine us to decide in favour of the former of these alternatives.

"It would, First, be an improbable supposition that the nations which are now so widely extended should have been derived from the remotest member of the entire series. Their common cradle must be sought, if not in the very centre, at all events in such a situation as to render a diffusion towards the different regions of the world practicable. This condition is not well fulfilled by supposing India to be the point of departure. Secondly, none of the phenomena of speech, customs, or ideas observable among the other cognate nations indicate an Indian origin. Of the countries which were anciently occupied by the great Indo-Germanic family, India was the most peculiar, and differed the most widely from the others; and it would be very unaccountable that no trace of these Indian peculiarities should have been preserved by any of the other Indo-Germanic races in later times, if they had all originally dwelt in India. Among

[53] Indian Antiquities, i. p. 512, ff.

the names of plants and animals which are common to all these nations there is none which is peculiar to India.[54] The most widely diffused word for any species of corn (*yava*) denotes not rice, but barley. Thirdly, For a decision of this question, the manner in which India is geographically distributed among the different nations by which it is occupied, is of great importance. The diffusion of the Arians towards the south, points to the conclusion that they came from the north-west, from the country to the north of the Vindhya, probably from the region bordering on the Jumna, and the eastern part of the Punjab. Their extension to the east between the Himalaya and the Vindhya, also indicates the same countries as their earlier seats. We find moreover evident traces of the Arians, in their advance from the north-west, having severed asunder the earlier population of Hindustan, and driven one portion of it towards the northern, and another portion towards the southern hills. Further, we cannot assume that the Arians themselves were the earlier inhabitants who were pushed aside: for the inhabitants of the Dekhan, like those of the Vindhya range, appear always as the weaker and retiring party who were driven back by the Arians. We cannot ascribe to the non-Arian tribes the power of having forced themselves forward through the midst of an earlier Arian population to the seats which they eventually occupied in the centre of the country: but, on the contrary, everything speaks in favour of their having been originally settled in those tracts where we find them at a later period, and of their having once occupied a more extensive territory. These non-Arians were in fact feebler races, like the red men of America. The Arians on the other hand were a more perfectly organised, enterprising, and creative people, and were consequently the more recent; just as the earth has at a later period produced the more perfect

[54] [This circumstance, however, might be accounted for, as Weber remarks (Modern Investigations on Ancient India, p. 10), by the names being forgotten, from the plants and animals being unknown in western countries. See below, p. 318.—J. M.]

classes of plants and animals. Finally the same thing is shown by the political relation of the two branches of the population. The Arians take up for themselves, *i.e.* for the three highest castes, a position of the most complete contrast to the aboriginal tribes, first of all by the name of Arya, and next by their prerogatives; for the name of *dvija*, "twice-born," with the higher rank connected with it, is the exclusive designation of the three upper classes. The Arians in this way mark themselves out as the superior and conquering race. In confirmation of this we can also adduce an outward mark, that of complexion. The word for caste in Sanskrit (*varṇa*), originally signified *colour*. The castes therefore were distinguished by their complexion. But, as is well known, the Brahmans have a fairer colour than the Śudras and Chandālas: and the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas who were also Arians must have participated in the same fair complexion. We are thus led to the conclusion that the Arian-Indians were originally distinguished from the dark aborigines: and this accords with the assumption that they came from a more northern country."

That the Arians were not autochthonous in India, but came from some country to the north, is also the opinion of Professor Max Müller.

"At the first dawn of traditional history we see these Arian tribes migrating across the snow of the Himālaya southward toward the "Seven Rivers" (the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjāb, and the Sarasvatī), and ever since India has been called their home. That before this time they had been living in more northern regions, within the same precincts with the ancestors of the Greeks, the Italians, Slavonians, Germans and Celts, is a fact as firmly established as that the Normans of William the Conqueror were the Northmen of Scandinavia. The evidence of language is irrefragable, and it is the only evidence worth listening to with regard to ante-historical periods . . . . While most of the members of the Arian family followed this glorious path" [*i.e.* to the north-west], "the southern

tribes were slowly migrating to the mountains which gird the north of India. After crossing the narrow passes of the Hindu-kush or the Himālaya, they conquered or drove before them, as it seems without much effort, the original inhabitants of the Trans-Himalayan countries. They took for their guides the principal rivers of northern India, and were led by them to new homes in their beautiful and fertile valleys." (Last Results of Sanskrit Researches, in Bunsen's Out. of Phil. of Un. Hist., vol. i. pp. 129, and 131; and Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 12, 13, 15.)

Again in the Last Results of the Turanian Researches, *ibid.*, p. 340, the same able writer remarks: "It is now generally admitted that this holy-land of the Brahmans, even within its earliest and narrowest limits, between the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī, was not the birth-place of the sons of Manu. The Arians were strangers in the land of the Indus and the Ganges, but no one can now determine the exact spot whence they came, and where they had been previously settled. Traditions, current among the Brahmans as to the northern regions, considered the seats of the blessed, may be construed into something like a recollection of their northern immigration—holy places along the rivers of northern India, where even in later times Brahmans went to learn the purest Sanskrit, may mark the stations of their onward course—the principal capitals of these ancient kingdoms may prove the slow but steady progress toward the mouths of the principal rivers of India—but with the sources of those rivers, the homes of the Arian strangers vanish from our sight, even after we have reached the highest points of view accessible on Indian ground."

Professor Benfey expresses an equally confident opinion that India was not the original country of the Hindus. His reasons are as follows. After giving some account of the various tribes by whom southern and central India are occupied, he proceeds: "We thus find the whole of the Dekhan covered with the remains of a nation of which it is highly probable that the

several parts were connected by affinity. But we know with certainty that the Sanskrit-speaking people did not establish themselves in the Dekhan till a later period, and as colonists, who apparently began their occupation by making themselves masters of the coasts. . . . Now it is hardly probable that those barbarous tribes could have pushed themselves forward into the midst of the Arian-Indians at a period when the latter had attained to the height of their social and political development; and yet it is at this very period that we already find mention made of several of these barbarous races. We are therefore compelled to recognize the latter as being the earlier inhabitants of the Dekhan, who were reduced to subjection by the arms of the Sanskrit-speaking race, and either incorporated into their community as a servile caste, or driven back into the recesses of the mountains." Indien,[54*] p. 9. In p. 12, the same author proceeds: "From the foregoing sections it appears that the Sanskrit-speaking people, who called themselves Aryas and Viśes, can be shown to have immigrated from foreign regions into their new abodes. It can be positively demonstrated that they once formed one nation, spoke one speech, and possessed the same civilisation, with the races who are allied to them by language, viz., the Aryas properly so called (*i.e.* the Iranians), the Greeks, Latins, &c. It is scarcely to be doubted that the theatre of this early union was one of the countries of Asia: but the time is so far antecedent to the dawn of history, and so many commotions, migrations and so forth, must have swept over the region which they formerly occupied, that every trace which the Sanskrit-speaking race might have left of their residence there, has been obliterated. Arguments of a general nature render it not improbable that Tartary, which even in historical ages has sent forth so many children of the steppes to the most various regions of the world, may, at one time, have embraced this race also in its vast wildernesses. . . . . When

[54*] In Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia (German).

the once united nation became broken up, the Indo-Arians remained still for a long time united with the Perso-Arians, as the language of both distinctly proves. The abodes which they occupied at that time may be determined with tolerable probability by the aid of a widely diffused sacred legend." Professor Benfey then refers to the Indian legends regarding the sacred lakes Manōsarōvara, and Rāvana-hrada, and the descent of the Ganges in the same Himalayan region, and its subsequent division into separate streams. He regards the Ganges as a personification of the original fountain of waters, and identifies it with the *apām napāt*, or "son of waters," of the Veda. This again he considers to be identical with the *napāt apaṅm* of the Zend writings, which in like manner he interprets as a mythical representation of the primeval source of earthly waters, issuing from a mountain. He then proceeds: "Here then we have in the Zend writings a repetition of the Indian legends regarding the original source of waters, along with the Indian locality: and the only question which arises is whether the knowledge of this locality was acquired by the Persians in later times, or brought with them from their earlier abodes. When we reflect how great is the general agreement between the Indians and Persians in respect of religion, of political institutions, and other things of the same kind, it seems to me extremely probable that, as they bear in common the name of Arya (in Zend *Airya*), or 'the honourable,'—a name which implies a high sense of their own importance,—they must also have attained in common a considerable degree of civilisation. This of course, pre-supposes that they dwelt together in the same country for a tolerably long period; and where can we more reasonably seek for this locality than in the quarter to which the recollections of both nations point as to their earliest abodes? For what but recollections of this sort could have given to this region the appellation of a holy land? For it lies geographically too far distant from the principal seats of later Hinduism as well as of the

Zend religion, to admit of its coming, in any other way, to be regarded by both nations as a sacred region, at a period when they had become settled so far from it, as well as from each other. We can scarcely go wrong if we identify this region, (as the quarter in which the Indians placed the abode of the blessed), with the renowned Uttarakuru, which according also to the classical authorities of the west is to be fixed here. We shall not, however, spend more time in confirming (by grounds which we cannot render perfectly convincing) our opinion that the Sanskrit and Zend peoples once dwelt together in the country which we call Little Thibet, as a nation which had attained a certain stage of civilisation. At the period when the Aryas settled in this region, a division of the great Indo-Gothic race appears to have already taken place. After this separation, the other members of the same great family who subsequently came into notice in the western world, remained for a time by themselves in their earlier abodes somewhat more to the north."

The following remarks of Professor Spiegel (Introduction to Avesta, vol. ii. pp. cvi. ff.) will serve as an answer to Mr. Curzon's allegation that the language and mythology of the Persians are derived from those of India: "Though it is universally admitted that a primeval country is to be assumed, where the Arians lived in pre-historical times as one people, and from which they gradually migrated; and although it is allowed that the Indians and Iranians must have dwelt together for a length of time in this, or in some other adjacent country, even after the separation of the other branches, still it is by no means clear what should be regarded as that primeval country. Agreeably to Mr. Curzon's assumption India was the fatherland of the Indo-Germanic races. From that country the individual branches of that stock migrated westwards, and last of all the Iranians, who continued to dwell in the immediate vicinity of their original country, which henceforward remained in sole possession of a single race, the Indians. According to this

assumption the relation of Iran to India admits of a very simple adjustment; India is the cradle, the Indian language (*i.e.* the Vedic Sanskrit) is the mother-tongue of all the Indo-Germanic nations. If accordingly, an important affinity is discernible both in language and in ideas between the Indians and Iranians, the reason of it is simply this that the Iranians emigrated last from India, and thus carried with them the largest share of Indian characteristics. On this view the older monuments of Iranian literature would stand in the same relation to the Vedic literature, that the Pali and Prakrit stand to the later Sanskrit. Lassen [55] had however previously declared himself against this assumption that India was the cradle of the Indo-Germanic races; and his arguments have not been invalidated by Mr. Curzon. And as regards the relation of the old Iranian dialect to the Sanskrit of the Vedas, I boldly assert that we cannot possibly suppose the former to stand in any such relation of dependance to the latter as the Pali or the Prakrit stands in to the later Sanskrit; and no one who impartially examines the question, will do otherwise than support my view.

"We may therefore at once set aside the supposition that India was the cradle of the Indo-Germanic race. We prefer to assume with Lassen that their original abode is to be sought in the extreme east of the Iranian country, in the tract where the Oxus and Jaxartes take their rise.

"But the second question in regard to language is not thus determined. For it might still be imagined possible that not only the Indians but also the Iranians along with them, had migrated to the countries on the Indus; and that the Iranians, perhaps owing to religious differences, had retraced their steps to the westward. The great affinity between the Sanskrit, and the ancient Bactrian, languages, and the resemblances between the mythologies, of the Vedas on the one hand, and the Avesta

[55] Ind. Ant. i. p. 512. See above p. 307, ff.

on the other, would then admit of the same explanation; viz., that the Iranians had spent the Vedic period, or at least a great part of it, in conjunction with the Indians; and hence the close affinity between their ideas. This is in fact the view of a scholar who is very familiar with this branch of study, Professor Max Müller.[56]

"I cannot agree with this view, as I am quite unable to discover that there is any historical reminiscence by which it can be established.[56*] The facts which I have above collected regarding Zoroaster and his religion, certainly do not point to the conclusion that he was a Bactrian, much less that the religion of the Bactrians came from India; on the contrary, these accounts seem to lead us to believe that their religion came first from Media. . . . . But if there be no historical recollection, what else is there to favour the opinion in question? Surely it cannot be the similarity of structure between the languages of India and Persia! We esteem the Sanskrit so highly, not because it was the original speech of the Indo-Germanic race, but because it stands the nearest to that original language.

[56] "Last Results of the Persian Researches," p. 113. "If regarded from a Vaidik point of view . . . the gods of the Zoroastrians come out once more as mere reflections of the primitive and authentic gods of the Vedas. It can now be proved, even by geographical evidence, that the Zoroastrians had been settled in India before they immigrated into Persia. I say the Zoroastrians, for we have no evidence to bear us out in making the same assertion of the nations of Media and Persia in general. That the Zoroastrians and their ancestors started from India during the Vaidik period can be proved as distinctly as that the inhabitants of Massilia started from Greece. The geographical traditions in the first Fargard of the Vendidad do not interfere with this opinion. If ancient and genuine, they would embody a remembrance preserved by the Zoroastrians, but forgotten by the Vaidik poets — a remembrance of times previous to their first common descent into the country of the Seven Rivers. If of later origin, and this is more likely, they may represent a geographical conception of the Zoroastrians after they had become acquainted with a larger sphere of countries and nations, subsequent to their emigration from India."

[56*] See, however, App. note E.

Now it cannot surprise us that another language of the same family, as the ancient Bactrian is, should have remained on a nearly similar level. It is not in the least at variance with this view that the last named language is far younger than the Vedic Sanskrit, for it is well known that external circumstances frequently occasion the speedy corruption of one language, while another can long preserve its ancient level. And so in this case, both languages issued in a nearly similar form from one common parent form of speech, and were then developed independently of each other. And as the phenomena of the two languages do not necessitate the assumption that the ancient Bactrian language has passed *through the Vedic Sanskrit*, so neither is this view forced upon us by the contents of the Avesta. Reference has, indeed, been made to the points of contact between the legends, and even between the manners and customs exhibited in the Veda and the Avesta. But the few particulars which recur in the Vedas cannot be set against the far larger number of which there is no trace there. Similar common legends have been discovered in the Greek mythology, and yet it has never been imagined by any one that the ancient Greeks must have believed in the Vedas. We are, therefore, warranted in supposing that in the old Bactrian language and literature we possess the monuments of a people, who certainly lived together with the Indians longer than any of the other kindred races, and have therefore a certain number of religious and other conceptions common to it with the former. But these common elements are so insignificant when compared with those which are of peculiarly Iranian growth, that we are justified in regarding the language and literature as independent Iranian productions. How, and by what causes the separation of the Iranians from the Indians was occasioned, is a point which, owing to our want of information on that early period, can no longer be certainly determined. . . . . Among the grounds of it I have (in the 1st Vol. p. 9.) referred to a religious alienation between the two nations, but too great importance

should not be assigned to this view. Even without assuming any such alienation, it is conceivable that gods who were honoured by the one people, might be degraded to hell by the other.[56**] . . . . That which gives probability to the idea of an actual alienation between the Indians and Iranians on religious grounds, is the number of such opposing conceptions.

"We must accordingly maintain that the Indians and Iranians have each gone through their own proper development apart from the others. Any points of coincidence between the two must thus be referred to the early pre-Vedic period, not to the era of the special development of either of the two peoples. None of the common features which I have referred to in Vol. I. (see above, p. 290, ff.) are of such a character as to make it at all necessary for us to suppose the country bordering on the Indus to have been the scene of their origination. An origin in that locality might, with most probability, be ascribed to the legend of Vrittrahan, as Indra is designated, as the slayer of Vrittra, who withholds the clouds and the necessary rain. The word recurs again in the old-Bactrian *veretraya* 'victorious, (the deity, Verethragna I regard as being certainly of far later origin). From the circumstance that no special sense is assigned to the word in the ancient Bactrian language, I do not conclude, as is commonly done, that in the Avesta it has lost its special meaning; but, on the contrary, I assume that the Indian limitation of the word to Indra did not take place till after the separation of the two peoples, and that the word had originally a more general meaning."

The following is the opinion of Professor Weber on the same general question. In his tract, entitled "Modern Investigations on Ancient India," p. 10, after sketching the physical and intellectual condition of the early Aryas, as deducible from the words common to all the Indo-European languages, he proceeds thus:—

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[56**] See App. note F.

"In the picture just now drawn, positive signs are after all almost entirely wanting, by which we could recognise the country in which our forefathers dwelt and had their common home. That it was situated in Asia is an old historical axiom: the want of all animals specifically Asiatic in our enumeration above seems to tell against this, but can be explained simply by the fact of these animals not existing in Europe, which occasioned their names to be forgotten, or at least caused them to be applied to other similar animals; it seems, however, on the whole, that the climate of that country was rather temperate than tropical, most probably mild, and not so much unlike that of Europe; from which we are led to seek for it in the highlands of central Asia, which latter has been regarded from time immemorial as the cradle of the human race."

My next quotation is from the recent work of M. Pictet, "Les Origines Indo-Européennes," in which he endeavours, by an examination of all the accessible data, geographical, philological, and ethnographical, as well as by a survey and comparison of all the terms common to the Arian languages, which refer to climate, to topography, and to natural history, to determine what that country was, which the common ancestors of the Indo-European nations originally inhabited.[57]

I shall not attempt to follow the course of M. Pictet's multifarious investigations and reasonings, or to pass any judgment on his particular deductions; but shall content myself with extracting his account of the general results to which he has been conducted.

"By consulting successively national appellations, traditions, geography, philology, and ethnography, we have arrived at the following conclusions:—The Arian people, as they called themselves in opposition to the *barbarian*, must have occupied a

[57] M. Pictet's second volume, which has not yet appeared, is to treat of the state of civilisation and intellectual culture which this primitive people had attained before it was broken up into different nations.

region, of which Bactria may be regarded as the centre. This is the conclusion to which we are at once led by merely comparing the directions followed by the swarms of men who issued from this centre, and which all radiate from it as a point of departure. The geographical configuration of this portion of Asia completely confirms this first induction; for the only possible outlets through which the population could issue occur at the very points where the principal currents of emigration have actually flowed, if we may judge by the ultimate positions of the Arian people, and the scattered traditions which they have preserved of their origin." . . . . .

"We may presume (1.), from the order and direction of the migrations which determined the ultimate positions of the Arian races, (2.), from the traces of their ancient names, left by the several nations along the routes which they must have followed, and (3.) from the more special affinities which connect together the different groups of Arian languages, that the primitive Ariana, at the period of its greatest extension, must have embraced nearly the whole of the region situated between the Hindu-kush, Belurtagh, the Oxus, and the Caspian sea; and, perhaps, extended a good way into Sogdiana, towards the sources of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. I do not mean that Ariana then formed one strongly constituted state. It is much more probable that it was at that time partitioned among distinct tribes, united solely by the general bond of race, by similarity of manners and language, by a common stock of beliefs and traditions, and by a sentiment of natural brotherhood. This is to be inferred both from the topographical character of the country, and from the successive emigrations which must have followed each other at considerable intervals. I have attempted in Chapter III. to fix, by approximation, the relative positions of the different branches of the race before their dispersion."

[I introduce here, from p. 51 of M. Pictet's work, the substance of the passage referred to, so far as it relates to the Iranians, Indians, Greeks, and Latins:—.

"Assuming Bactria to have been the centre of the region peopled by the primitive Aryas, the Iranians must have possessed its north-east corner, bordering on Sogdiana, towards Belurtagh, and have at first spread towards the east, as far as the high mountain vallies, from which they afterwards descended to colonize Iran. Alongside of them, to the south-east, probably in the fertile regions of Badakhshan, dwelt the Indo-Arians, occupying the slopes of the Hindu-kush, which they had afterwards to cross, or to round, in order to arrive in Cabul, and penetrate thence into northern India. To the south-west, towards the sources of the Artamis and the Bactrus, we should place the Pelasgo-Arians (the Greeks and Latins), who must have advanced thence in the direction of Herat, and continued their migration, by Khorasan and Mazenderan to Asia Minor and the Hellespont."]

"Though nothing more than a hypothesis, the preceding distribution appears to account better than any other for the entire facts of the case. But it can be shown, in a more precise manner, that the Aryas must have been originally divided into two groups, the one eastern and the other western, from which, on the one side, the Aryas of Persia and India issued, and on the other the European nations. The principal arguments in support of this statement cannot, however, be unfolded till I come to the sequel of my work. . . . . In regard to the period when the Arian emigrations took place, I may say, by anticipation, that, in all probability, the earliest of them cannot be placed at less than three thousand years before the Christian era, and that perhaps they go back to a still remoter period."—(Pictet, Les Aryas Primitifs, pp. 536, ff.)

I shall now attempt briefly to sum up the arguments in favour of the conclusion, that the Indo-Arians were not autochthonous, but immigrated into Hindusthan from Central Asia.

Mr. Curzon entertains, as we have seen, a different opinion, which he grounds on the assumption that the languages, as well as the mythologies, of the Persians, as well as of the Greeks and Latins, are derived from India. We have already seen (p. 269, ff.)

how untenable the notion is that the Greek and Latin languages could have been derived from Sanskrit; and the points of coincidence between the Greek, the Italian, and the Indian mythologies are too few and too remote to justify the idea of their derivation from the Indo-Arians, at any period nearly so recent as the hypothesis would require. I am not prepared to pronounce it altogether inconceivable that the Greek and Latin races could have emigrated from India within any period short of 1500 years B.C., without distinct traces of this migration being discoverable in their own literature, or in that of other nations: for, as we have already seen (page 305) the traces of such movements may soon disappear from the traditions of an illiterate people. But if the languages and religions of Greece and Italy be not *derived* from those of India, there is no ground for this hypothesis. And any emigration from India at an earlier period than that indicated appears to be improbable. Fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, India, if (as it no doubt was) already occupied by the Indo-Arians, must, at all events, have been very thinly peopled. The Aryas had not, at that period, extended themselves beyond the north-west quarter of India.[58] Large tracts both to the east and west of the Ganges, and to the north of the Vindhya range, must then have been still uncultivated. While such facilities remained for the occupation of new territory for the purposes of agriculture or pasturage, in their own immediate neighbourhood, it does not appear what sufficient motive could have existed to impel any branch of the small Arian population to desert the fertile plains and the warm temperature of India (to which, by the hypothesis, they must have been long accustomed) for the rugged mountains and the barren and less genial regions which lay to the north-west and west of the Indus.

As regards the derivation of the Iranian language and mythology from the Indian (which may be asserted with more show

[58] This will be made evident by the details which I shall shortly adduce, relative to their diffusion in Hindusthan.

of probability than in the case of the Greeks and Latins), I may place the authority and the arguments, just quoted, of Professor Spiegel in opposition to those of Mr. Curzon.

Mr. Elphinstone, as we have seen, does not decide in favour of either theory, but leaves it in doubt whether the Hindus were an autochthonous or an immigrant nation. As a justification of his doubt, he refers to the circumstance that all other known migrations of ancient date have proceeded from east to west and have not radiated from a common centre. But this reasoning cannot claim to offer more than a limited presumption, and cannot be set against the stronger probabilities which, in this case, are suggested by the subsequent history of the different Arian nations in favour of a radiation from one common centre.

The common origin of the Arian tongues implies, as we have seen, the anterior existence of one parent language from which they all issued, and conducts us necessarily to the conclusion that the several nations, who spoke those separate dialects were all descended from the same common ancestors, who employed the parent language in question, and formed one Arian nation inhabiting the same country. As the question where this country was situated cannot be decided by history, we are thrown back upon inference; and we are therefore led to enquire what that region was which by its position was most likely to have formed the point of departure from which nations situated in the opposite quarters ultimately occupied by the Indians, the Iranians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans and the Slavonians must have issued in order to reach their several abodes by the most easy and natural routes. The point of departure which best satisfies this condition, is in the opinion of the eminent writers whom I have cited, some region of central Asia, lying to the north-west of India. We may therefore place the cradle of the Arians in or near Bactria.

SECT. VIII.—*On the National Traditions of the Indians regarding their own Original Country.*

I shall now inquire whether there are any data to be found among the traditions of the Indians or the Persians, from which we can derive any confirmation of the conclusion to which we have been led by other considerations. I must, however, begin with a candid admission that so far as I know, none of the Sanskrit books, not even the most ancient, contain any *distinct* reference or allusion to the foreign origin of the Indians. This does not, perhaps, afford any just ground of surprise. The Vedic hymns themselves do not carry us back to the first ages of the nation, but contain allusions to personages and events of a still earlier date. The past history of their race is very liable to be forgotten by an unlettered people, as is justly remarked by Schlegel, in the passage quoted above, p. 305; and any traditions which may at one time have existed of the early Arian migrations might very easily have been overgrown and effaced by the luxuriant harvest of legendary inventions for which India has been remarkable from the earliest ages. This process of obscuration is distinctly traceable in other parts of Indian history, and it has been frequently remarked how greatly the myths and even the allusions of the Vedas have been amplified and distorted by more recent mythologists. I shall, however, proceed to quote such passages as may appear in any way to imply the tradition of a foreign origin.

First. In the Rig-veda,[59] an expression occurs from which we might infer that the Indians still retained some recollection of their having at one time occupied a colder country. It is this: R.-V. i. 64. 14. तोकं पुत्रेम तनयं शतं हिमाः। "May we cherish [such] a son and grandson a hundred *winters*"! The expression पश्येम शरदः शतं जीवेम शरदः शतम्। "May we see — may we live — a hundred autumns" also occurs in the

[59] Wilson, Introd. to Rig-veda, vol. i. p. xlii.

R.-V. vii. 66. 16. See also R.-V. x. 18. 4. This may perhaps be a more recent form of the phrase, dating from a period when the recollection of the colder regions from which they had migrated, was becoming forgotten by the Aryas.

Second. In the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, one of a class of works which, as we have shown, form the oldest remains of Hindu literature next to the Vedic hymns, we find the following legend, which may possibly be based upon an old tradition of the Hindus having originally crossed, at some point, the great mountains to the north or north-west, and entered into India by that route:—[59*]

मनवे ह वै प्रातर् अवनेग्यमुदकमाजह्रुर्यथेदं पाणिभ्यामवनेजनायाहरन्ति। एवं तस्यावनेनिजानस्य मत्स्यः पाणी आपेदे। स ह आसै वाचमुवाद। बिभृहि मा पारयिष्यामि त्वेति। कस्मान्मा पारयिष्यसीति। औघ इमाः सर्वाः प्रजा निर्वोढा ततस्त्वा पारयितास्मीति। कथं ते भृतिरिति। स होवाच यावद् वै क्षुल्लका भवामो बह्वी वै नस्तावद् नाद्या भवत्युत मत्स्य एव मत्स्यं गिलति। कुम्भ्यां माऽग्रे बिभरासि। स यदा तामतिवर्धाऽअथ कर्षू खात्वा तस्यां मा बिभरासि। स यदा तामतिवर्धाऽअथ मा समुद्रमभ्यवहरासि। तर्हि वाऽअतिनाद्रो भवितास्मीति। अथद् ह झष आस। स हि ज्येष्ठं वर्धते। अथेतिथीं समां तदौघ आजग्मा। तन्मा नावमुपकल्प्योपासासै। स औघे उत्थिते नावमापद्यासै ततस्त्वा पारयितास्मीति। तमेवं भृत्वा समुद्रमभ्यवजहार। स यतिथीं तत्समां परिदिदेश ततिथीं समां नावमुपकल्प्योपासाञ्चक्रे। स औघ उत्थिते नावमापेदे। तं स मत्स्य उपन्यापुप्लुवे। तस्य शृङ्गे नावः पाशं प्रतिमुमोच॥ तेनैतमुत्तरं गिरिमतिदुद्राव। स होवाच। अपीपरं वै त्वा वृत्रे

[59*] This legend is translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 161, ff.; and by Müller, Anc. Sans. Lit. p. 425, ff.

नावं प्रतिबध्नीष्व। तं तु त्वा मा गिरौ सन्तमुदकमन्तश्चैत्सीद् यावदुदकं समवायात् तावत् तावदन्ववसर्पासीति। स ह तावत् तावदेवान्ववससर्प। तदप्येतदुत्तरस्य गिरेर्मनोरवसर्पणमिति। ओघो ह ताः सर्वाः प्रजा निरुवाहायेह मनुरेवैकः परिशिशिषे। सोऽर्चन्क्राम्यंश्चचार प्रजाकामः। तत्रापि पाकयज्ञेनेजे। स घृतं दधि मस्तु आमिक्षामित्यप्सु जुह्वाञ्चकार। ततः संवत्सरे योषित् सम्बभूव। सा ह पिब्दमाना ददोदेयाय। तस्यै ह स्म घृतं पदे सन्तिष्ठते। तया मित्रावरुणौ सङ्गमाते। तां होचतुः काऽसीति। मनोर्दुहिता दति। आवयोर्ब्रूयेति। नेति होवाच। य एव मामजीजनत तस्यैवाहमस्मीति। तस्याम् अपित्वम् ईषाते। तद्धा जज्ञौ तद्धा न जज्ञौ। अति लेवेयाय सा मनुमाजगाम। तां ह मनुरुवाच कासीति। तव दुहिता दति। कथं भगवति मम दुहितेति। या अमूरप्सु आञ्जतीरहौषीर्घृतं दधि मस्वामिक्षां ततो मामजीजनथाः। सा आशीरस्मि। तां मा यज्ञेऽवकल्पय। यज्ञे चेद्दे माऽवकल्पयिष्यसि बह्वः प्रजया पशुभिर्भविष्यसि। याम् उ मया काञ्चाशिषम् आशासिष्यसे सा ते सर्वा समर्धिष्यत दति। ताम् एतन्मध्ये यज्ञस्य अवाकल्पयद् मध्यं ह्येतद्यज्ञस्य यदन्तरा प्रयाजानुयाजान्। तयाऽर्चन्क्राम्यंश्चचार प्रजाकामः। तया ददमां प्रजज्ञे या दयं मनोः प्रजातिः॥

"They brought to Manu in the morning water for washing, as they are in the habit of bringing water to wash with the hands. As he was using the water, there came into his hands a fish, which said to him, 'Preserve me and I will save thee.' [Manu inquired] 'From what wilt thou save me?' [The fish replied] 'A flood shall sweep away all these creatures: I will rescue thee from it.' [Manu asked] 'How is thy protection [to be effected]?'

The fish answered 'So long as we are small, we are in great peril, and even fish devours fish: preserve me first in a jar. When I grow too large for the jar, dig a trench, and preserve me in it. When I become too great for that, carry me to the ocean; I shall then be beyond the reach of danger.' Straightway it became a great fish: for it grew exceedingly. [The fish then said,] 'In so many years the flood will come: make a ship therefore, and worship me; and when the flood rises, embark on the ship, and I shall deliver thee.' Accordingly Manu preserved the fish, and brought it to the ocean; and in the same year which the fish had declared, he built a ship and worshipped [the fish.] When the flood ascended, he entered the ship, and the fish swam near him: and he fastened the cable of the ship to the fish's horn. By this means he passed over this northern mountain. The fish then said, 'I have delivered thee, fasten the ship to a tree.' But lest the water should abandon thee when thou art upon the mountain, as fast as the water subsides, so fast shalt thou descend along with it. Accordingly he descended as the water subsided. Hence, this was 'Manu's descent' from the northern mountain. The flood had swept away all creatures: Manu alone was left. Being desirous of offspring he laboriously performed a religious rite. And there, too, he sacrificed with the *pāka* sacrifice. He cast clarified butter, thickened milk, whey, and curds, as an oblation into the waters. After a year a female was produced, who rose unctuous from the waters, with clarified butter under her feet. Mitra and Varuṇa met her; and said to her 'Who art thou?' 'Manu's daughter,' she replied. They rejoined, 'Say that thou art our daughter.' She answered, 'No: I am the daughter of him who begot me.' Then they demanded a share in her. She promised, and she did not promise; but passed on and came to Manu. Manu asked her 'Who art thou?' 'Thy daughter,' she replied. 'How, thou divine one, art thou my daughter?' he inquired. She replied, 'Thou hast begotten me from those oblations which thou didst cast

into the waters. I am a benediction. Introduce me at the sacrifice. If thou shalt do so, thou shalt increase in offspring and cattle. Whatever boon thou shalt supplicate through me, shall accrue to thee.' He accordingly introduced her in the middle of the sacrifice: for that is the middle which stands between the introductory and concluding prayers. He lived with her worshipping and toiling, desirous of offspring. By her he begot this offspring, which is the offspring of Manu."

It is true that in this legend Manu is said to have crossed the northern range, and to have descended into India, and there sacrificed for the purpose of obtaining offspring; and that a daughter was born to him in that country. But if the progenitor of the Hindus was deemed to have been once an inhabitant of some country to the north, we may understand the legend as intimating that their ancestors generally lived at one time out of India.

Manu, as we have already seen, (Part I. pp. 15, 16, 25, 41, &c.), is declared in some passages of the Institutes of Hindu polity which bear his name, and in the Mahābhārata, to be the progenitor of the human race. One of the Brāhmaṇas says in like manner, मानव्यो हि प्रजा इति हि ब्राह्मणम्। [60] "Creatures are descended from Manu." In the Rig-veda also he appears to be regarded as the forefather or representative of mankind, or of the Arian race at least. (Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 165, 194, 195; Burnouf, Introd. to Bhāg. Purāṇa, lix. ff; Wilson, Rig-veda, vol. ii. p. 292, note; Nève, Essai sur le mythe des Ribhavas, p. 68, ff.) I shall quote some of the passages of the R.-V., in which Manu is mentioned. Thus, i. 31. 4, त्वमग्ने मनवे द्यामवाशयः पुरूरवसे सुकृते सुकृत्तरः। "Thou, O Agni, hast made known the sky to Manu; thou hast been a greater benefactor to Purūravas the performer of pious works;" i. 36. 19, नि त्वामग्ने मनुर्दधे ज्योति र्जनाय शश्वते। "Manu has established thee, O Agni, as a light to all mankind," (see

[60] Sāyaṇa on R.-V. i. 68. 4.

also, verse 10); i. 68. 4, होता निषत्तो मनोरपत्ये इत्यादि। "[Thou, Agni,] hast taken up thy abode as a priest among the race of Manu;" i. 96. 2, स पूर्वया निविदा कव्यतायोरिमाः प्रजा अजनयन्मनूनाम्। "In consequence of Āyu's primeval hymn, he [Agni] produced these children of the Manus," which Sāyaṇa explains, मनुना स्तुतः सन् मानवीः सर्वाः प्रजा अजनयत्। "Being hymned by Manu, he produced all the progeny of Manu." याभिर्मनुं पूरुरिषा समावतम्। i. 112. 18, "Whereby ye preserved the hero Manu with food."[61] यच्छं च योश्च मनुरायेजे पिता इत्यादि। i. 114. 20, "The prosperity and security which Manu our father procured." यानि मनुरवृणीता पिता नः इत्यादि। ii. 33. 13, "Those [medicines] which our father Manu chose," &c. स पूर्व्यो महानां वेनः क्रतुभिरानजे अस्य द्वारा मनुः पिता देवेषु धिय आनजे[62] दिवः। viii. 52. 1, "He whose gates the ancient priest (or beloved) of the great ones, adorned [or made known?] by sacrifices: our father Manu revealed among the gods (priests?) the prayers of the sky?" इळेन्यं प्रथमं मातरिश्वा देवा ततक्षुर्मनवे यजत्रम्। x. 46. 9, "Whom [Agni] Mātariśwan and the gods formed first as an object of praise and worship for Manu." त्वं चकर्थ मनवे सोनान् पथो देवत्रा ऽञ्जसेव यानान्। x. 73. 7, "Thou hast formed for Manu beautiful paths leading speedily to the gods."[63]

As Manu thus appears to be the progenitor and representative of the Indo-Arians, we might (as I have said) understand

[61] Sāyaṇa explains food in this passage by the words पृथिव्या गुप्तेन यवादिधान्यरूपेणान्नेन। *i.e. food consisting of wheat and other grain which the earth had concealed.* In his annotation on verse 16, Sāyaṇa calls Manu, *a*, or *the, royal ṛishi of that name.*

[62] See R.-V. i. 102. 1.

[63] See, however, Benfey's rendering in his glossary to the Sāma-veda, under the word *namuchi*; see, also, the passages, R.-V. i. 130. 8, iv. 26. 1, i. 20. 7, vii. 19. 3.

the interesting legend which I have quoted regarding his preservation from the deluge, his passage across the northern mountain, and his descent from its summits down into the region at its southern base, to intimate generally that the ancestors of the Hindus originally came from some region to the north of the Himālaya. I would not, however, be understood as laying very much stress upon this inference.

The story of the deluge is narrated in the Vana Parva of the Mahābhārata, verses 12,746—12,804, at much greater length, and with considerable variations from the preceding legend of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. Every tradition of the deluge has an intrinsic interest of its own, quite independently of its bearing on the point which I am now concerned to illustrate. Though, therefore, the legend as recorded in the Mahābhārata contains nothing directly connected with the subject of this section, I will quote it both on account of its own importance, and as an instance of the modifications which ancient Indian legends generally undergo in the hands of the later mythologists.[63*] The Mahābhārata begins with an account of the strenuous austerities of Manu. While he was thus engaged, a fish came to him on the banks of the Chīriṇi,[64] soliciting deliverance. He cast the fish into a jar. When it became too large for the jar, he threw it into a pond. When it grew too vast for the pond, it thus addressed Manu (verse 12,764): नय मां भगवन् साधो समुद्रमहिषीं प्रियाम्। गङ्गां तत्र निवत्स्यामि यथा वा तात मन्यसे॥ "Bring me, O divine and holy sage, to Gangā, the ocean's beloved queen; in her I shall dwell: or do whatever else thou pleasest." Manu accordingly cast the fish into the Gangā.[65] Finally, when the fish became too

[63*] The text of this episode was long since published by Bopp.

[64] Verse 12,751; चीरिणीतीरमागम्य मत्स्यो वचनमब्रवीत्॥

[65] Verse 12,766: एवमुक्तो मनुर्मत्स्यमनयद् भगवान् वशी। नदीं गङ्गां तत्र चैनं स्वयं प्राक्षिपदच्युतः॥

great for the Gangā, Manu brought it to the ocean. When thrown in there, the fish announced to Manu the approaching universal deluge; and then proceeded (verses 12,776—8): नौश्च कारयितव्या ते दृढा युक्तवटारका। तत्र सप्तर्षिभिः सार्द्धमारुहेथा महामुने। बीजानि चैव सर्वाणि यथोक्तानि द्विजैः पुरा। तस्यामारोहयेर्नावि सुसङ्गुप्तानि भागशः। नौस्थश्च मां प्रतीक्षेथा इत्यादि॥ "And thou shalt cause a strong ship to be built, with a cable attached, in which thou must embark with the seven rishis. And take with thee all manner of seeds, as anciently described by the Brahmans, severally well preserved: and then await my arrival." Manu did as he was commanded, verses 12,782, ff.: बीजान्यादाय सर्वाणि सागरं प्रसुषे तदा। नौकया शुभया वीर महोर्मिणम् अरिन्दम॥ "Manu then taking all the seeds floated on the billowy sea in the beautiful ship." He then thought on the fish, which speedily arrived; and the cable of the ship was bound to its vast horn. Then we have the following description which, in some places, is not devoid of poetical power, verses 12,786, ff.: संयतस्तेन पाशेन मत्स्यः परपुरञ्जय। वेगेन महता नावं प्राकर्षल्लवणाम्भसि। स च तांस्तारयन् नावा समुद्रं मनुजेश्वर। नृत्यमानमिवोर्मीभिर्गर्जमानमिवाम्भसा॥ क्षोभ्यमाना महावातैः सा नौस्तस्मिन् महोदधौ। घूर्णते चपलेव स्त्री मत्ता परपुरञ्जय। नैव भूमि र्न च दिशः प्रदिशो वा चकाशिरे। सर्वमाम्भसमेवासीत् खं द्यौश्च नरपुङ्गव। एवम्भूते तदा लोके सङ्कुले भरतर्षभ। अदृश्यन्त सप्तर्षयो मनुर्मत्स्यस्तथैव च। एवं बहून् वर्षगणांस्तां नावं सोऽथ मत्स्यकः। चकर्षातन्द्रितो राजन् तस्मिन् सलिलसञ्चये। ततो हिमवतः शृङ्गं यत् परं भरतर्षभ। तच्चाकर्षत् ततो नावं स मत्स्यः कुरुनन्दन। अथाब्रवीत् तदा मत्स्यस्तानृषीन् प्रहसन् शनैः। अस्मिन् हिमवतः शृङ्गे

नावं बध्नीत माचिरम्। सा बद्धा तत्र तैस्तूर्णमृषिभिर्भरतर्षभ। नौ र्मत्स्यस्य वचः श्रुत्वा शृङ्गे हिमवतस्तदा। तच्च नौबन्धनं नाम शृङ्गं हिमवतः परम्। ख्यातमद्यापि दृत्यादि ॥

"The Fish being attached by the cable, drew the ship with great rapidity over the briny deep; and transported its crew across the ocean, which seemed to dance with its waves, and thunder with its waters. The ship, tossed by the mighty winds, whirled around like an unsteady intoxicated woman. Neither earth nor the eight quarters of the world appeared: everything was water, and firmament and sky. Amid this perturbation of the universe, the seven ṛishis, Manu, and the Fish were perceived. In this manner, the Fish, unwearied, drew along the ship for many periods of years amid the mass of waters; and at length brought it to the highest peak of the Himavat. Then spake the Fish, gently smiling, to the ṛishis: 'Bind the ship without delay to this peak of the Himavat.' They accordingly fastened the ship there according to the command of the Fish. That loftiest peak of the Himālaya is even to this day known by the appellation of 'Naubandhana' [the binding of the ship]." The Fish then reveals himself to the ṛishis as Brahmā, the supreme Lord of Creatures; and commands Manu to create all living beings, gods, Asuras and men, all worlds, and all things moveable and immoveable:[66]—a command which Manu fulfilled.

It will be observed that this legend differs in several of its details from that of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. In the latter, the original abode of Manu is undefined; but as he is said to have crossed the northern mountain (which the commentator explains of the Himālaya) and as we must suppose it to have been the southern slope which formed the scene of "Manu's descent," it may be presumed that the Brāhmaṇa intends to

[66] Verse, 12,798: मनुना च प्रजाः सर्वाः सदेवासुरमानुषाः। स्रष्टव्याः सर्वलोकाश्च यच्चेङ्गं यच्च नेङ्गति॥

represent him as having come from the northern side. In the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, the scene is laid on the banks of the Chiriṇī. Though the position of that stream is undetermined, there is no doubt that it must have been in northern India, as the Ganges is shortly after named as one of the receptacles into which the Fish was thrown. Manu therefore is overtaken by the flood in northern India; and after being carried about in the ship for many years, is landed on the highest peak of the Himālayā. As no mention is made of his having crossed to the northern, we must suppose that he continued on the southern, side. If, therefore, the legend, as narrated in the Brāhmaṇa, contains any reminiscence of the immigration of the Aryas from the north into India, it is clear that this feature of it has been lost in the epic poem.

In the Purāṇas the story undergoes still further transformations. The Bhāgavata places the scene in the south of India, in Draviḍa, instead of in the north; declares it to have been Vishṇu who became incarnate in the fish, (instead of Brahmā, who is represented in the Mahābhārata as the deliverer); and omits all mention of the ship's descent on the peak of the Himālaya. (See M. Burnouf's preface to the third vol. of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, pp. xxiii., ff.)

Third. In the allusions made to the *Uttara* (or northern) *Kurus* in the Indian books, there may be some reminiscence of an early connection with the countries to the north of the Himālaya. The following passage from the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa viii. 14. (quoted by Weber, Indische Studien, i. 218), contains the oldest reference to this people of which I am aware. तस्माद् एतस्यामुदीच्यां दिशि ये केच परेण हिमवन्तं जनपदा उत्तरकुरव उत्तरमद्रा इति वैराज्याय तेऽभिषच्यन्ते। विराळित्येनान् अभिषिक्तानाचक्षते॥ "Wherefore in this northern region, all the people who dwell beyond the Himavat, the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras, are consecrated to separate rule (*vairājya.*) Those who are consecrated are called *virāḷ.*"

The following quotation from another part of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, viii. 23, will, however, show that even at the early period when that work was composed, the country of the Uttara Kurus had come to be regarded as belonging to the domain of mythology: एतं ह वा ऐन्द्रं महाभिषेकं वासिष्ठः सात्यहव्यो ऽत्यरातये जानन्तपये प्रोवाच। तस्माद् उ अत्यराति जानन्तपिरराजा सन् विद्यया समन्तं सर्वतः पृथिवीं जयन् परीयाय। स होवाच वासिष्ठः सात्यहव्यः। अजैषीर्वा समन्तं सर्वतः पृथिवीं महन् मा गमयेति। स होवाचात्यराति जानन्तपि र्यदा ब्राह्मण उत्तरकुरूञ्जयेयम् अथ त्वमु हैव पृथिव्यै राजा स्याः सेनापतिरेव तेऽहं स्यामिति। स होवाच वासिष्ठः सात्यहव्यो देवचेत्तं वै तद् न वै तद् मर्त्यो जेतुमर्हति। अद्रुचो वै मा अत इदं दद इति। ततो ह अत्यरातिं जानन्तपिम् आत्तवीर्यं निःशुष्कम् अमित्रतपनः शुष्मिणः शैव्यो राजा जघान॥[67] "Sātyahavya of the race of Vasishṭha declared this great inauguration, similar to Indra's, to Atyarāti son of Janantapa; and in consequence Atyarāti, who was not a king, by [that] knowledge traversed the whole earth round, reducing it to subjection. Sātyahavya said to him, 'Thou hast subdued the whole earth round: exalt me now to greatness.' Atyarāti replied, 'When, O Brahman, I conquer the Uttara Kurus, then thou shalt be king of the earth, and I will be only thy general.' Sātyahavya rejoined, 'That is the holy land of the gods; no mortal may conquer it: thou hast acted injuriously towards me; resign, therefore, that [which I have bestowed].' In consequence of this the foe-destroying Śushmiṇa, the son of Śivi, slew Atyarāti, son of Janantapa, who had [thus] become bereft of his vigour, and destitute of strength." (See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. 43).

[67] I am indebted to Professor M. Müller for copying for me this passage from a MS. of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa.

In the First Part of this work I have already cited the first of the preceding passages and several others, relating to the northern Kurus.

I shall make some further extracts from the passage in the Rāmāyaṇa there noticed, and adduce some other texts on the same subject. In the "description of the northern region," Rāmāyaṇa iv. 44. 82, ff. we have the following account:

तान् गच्छत हरिश्रेष्ठा विशालानुत्तरान् कुरून्। दानशीलान् महाभागान् नित्यतुष्टान् गतज्वरान्। न तत्र शीतमुष्णं वा न जरा नामयस्तथा। न शोको न भयं वापि न वर्षं नापि भास्करः॥

"Go, most excellent of monkeys, to those illustrious Uttara Kurus, who are liberal, prosperous, perpetually happy, and undecaying. In their country there is neither cold nor heat, nor decrepitude, nor disease, nor grief, nor fear, nor rain, nor sun." A great deal more follows in the same hyperbolical strain and then it is added (verse 117): कुरूंस्तान् समतिक्रम्य उत्तरे पयसां निधिः। तत्र सोमगिरि र्नाम हिरण्मयसमो महान्। and in verses 121, 122: न कथञ्चन गन्तव्यं कुरूणामुत्तरेण च। अन्येषामपि भूतानां न तत्र क्रमते गतिः। स हि सोमगिरि र्नाम देवानामपि दुर्गमः। "Beyond the Kurus to the north lies the ocean; and there the vast Soma mountain is situated, resembling a mass of gold." "You must not travel to the north of the Kurus. That region is untrodden by the steps of other living beings also. For that Soma-mountain is difficult of access even to the gods themselves."

In the same way when Arjuna, in the course of his conquests, as described in the Digvijaya Parva of the Mahābhārata, comes to the country of the Uttara Kurus in Harivarsha, he is thus addressed by the guards at the gate of the city: (Sabhā Parva verses 1045, ff.): पार्थ नेदं त्वया शक्यं पुरं जेतुं कथञ्चन।

. . . . दृढं पुरं यः प्रविशेद् ध्रुवं स न भवेद् नरः।
. . . . न चात्र किञ्चिज्ज्ञेतव्यम् अर्ज्जुनात्र प्रदृश्यते। उत्तराः
कुरवो ह्येते नात्र युद्धं प्रवर्त्तते॥ प्रविष्टोऽपि हि कौन्तेय नेह
द्रक्ष्यसि किञ्चन। न हि मानुषदेहेन शक्यमत्राभिवीक्षितुम्॥

"This city, O king, cannot be subdued by thee. . . . He who enters this city must be more than mortal. . . . There is nothing to be beheld here, O Arjuna, which thou mayest conquer. Here are the Uttara Kurus, against whom no one attempts to combat. And even if thou shouldst enter, thou couldst behold nothing; for here no one with a mortal body can see."

On this passage (part of which is a mere repetition of the Ait. Brāh. viii. 23.), Professor Lassen remarks (in the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, ii. 62): "At the furthest accessible extremity of the earth, appears Harivarsha, with the northern Kurus. The region of Hari or Vishṇu belongs to the system of mythical geography; but the case is different with the Uttara Kurus. Here there is a real basis of geographical fact; of which fable has only taken advantage, without creating it. The Uttara Kurus were formerly quite independent of the mythical system of *dvīpas*, though they were included in it at an early date." Again the same writer says at p. 65: "That the conception of the Uttara Kurus is based upon an actual country and not on mere invention, is proved (1.) by the way in which they are mentioned in the Vedas" [the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, as just quoted p. 332]; "(2.) by the existence of Uttara Kuru in historical times as a real country; and (3.) by the way in which the legend makes mention of that region as the home of primitive customs. To begin with the last point, the Mahābhārata speaks as follows of the freer mode of life which women led in the early world, Book I, verses 4719—22:

अनावृताः किल पुरा स्त्रिय आसन् वरानने। कामचारविहारिण्यः स्वतंत्राश्चारुहासिनि। तासां व्युच्चरमाणानां कौमा-

रात् सुभगे पतीन्। नाधर्मोऽभूद् वरारोहे स हि धर्मः पुराऽभवत्। तञ्चैव धर्मं पौराणं तिर्यग्योनिगताः प्रजाः। अद्याप्यनुविधीयन्ते कामक्रोधविवर्जिताः। प्रमाणदृष्टो धर्मोऽयं पूज्यते च महर्षिभिः। उत्तरेषु च रम्भोरु कुरुष्वद्यापि पूज्यते॥ 'Women were formerly unconfined, and roved about at their pleasure, independent. Though in their youthful innocence, they abandoned their husbands, they were guilty of no offence; for such was the rule in early times. This ancient custom is even now the law for creatures born as brutes, which are free from lust and anger. This custom is supported by authority and is observed by great rishis, and it is *still practised among the northern Kurus*.'[68]

"The idea which is here conveyed is that of the continuance in one part of the world of that original blessedness which prevailed in the golden age. To afford a conception of the happy condition of the southern Kurus it is said in another place," (M.-Bh. i. 4346: उत्तरैः कुरुभिः सार्द्धं दक्षिणाः कुरवस्तथा। विस्पर्द्धमाना व्यहरंस्तथा देवर्षिचारणैः।) "'The southern Kurus vied in happiness with the northern Kurus, and with the divine rishis and bards.'"

Professor Lassen goes on to say: "Ptolemy (vi. 16.),[68*] is also

[68] [I am myself responsible for the translation of these lines. The practice of promiscuous intercourse was, according to the legend, abolished by Śvētakētu, son of the ṛishi Uddālaka, who was incensed at seeing his mother led away by a strange Brahman. His father told him there was no reason to be angry, as: अनावृता हि सर्वेषां वर्णानामङ्गना भुवि। यथा गावः स्थितास्तात स्वे स्वे वर्णे तथा प्रजाः॥ "The women of all castes on earth are unconfined: just as cattle are situated, so are human beings, too, within their respective castes." Śvētakētu, however, could not endure this custom, and established the rule that henceforward wives should remain faithful to their husbands, and husbands to their wives. Mahābhārata, i. verses 4724–33.—J. M.]

[68*] The original passage will be given in the App. note G.

acquainted with *Uttara Kuru*. He speaks of a mountain, a people, and a city called *Ottorokorra*. Most of the other ancient authors who elsewhere mention this name, have it from him. It is a part of the country which he calls Serica; accordingly to him the city lies twelve degrees west from the metropolis of Sera and the mountain extends from thence far to the eastward. As Ptolemy has misplaced the whole of eastern Asia beyond the Ganges, the *relative* position which he assigns will guide us better than the *absolute* one, which removes *Ottorokorra* so far to the east that a correction is inevitable.

"According to my opinion the *Ottorokorra* of Ptolemy must be sought for to the east of Kashghar."

Lassen also thinks that Megasthenes had the Uttara Kurus in view when he referred to the Hyperboreans, who were fabled by Indian writers to live a thousand years.[69] In his Indian Antiquities, (Ind. Alterthumskunde, i. 511, 512, and note,) the same writer concludes that though the passages above cited relative to the Uttara Kurus indicate a belief in the existence of a really existing country of that name in the far north, yet that the descriptions there given are to be taken as pictures of an ideal paradise, and not as founded on any recollections of the northern origin of the Kurus. It is probable, he thinks, that some such reminiscences originally existed, and still survived in the Vedic era, though there is no trace of their existence in later times.

The sanctity of Kashmīr is thus celebrated in the Vana Parva of the Mahābhārata, verses 10,545—46: **काश्मीरमण्डलञ्चैतत् सर्वपुण्यमरिन्दम। महर्षिभिश्चाध्युषितं पश्येदं भ्रातृभिः सह। यत्रौत्तराणां सर्वेषामृषीणां नाऊषस्य च। अग्नेश्चैवाच संवादः काश्यपस्य च भारत॥** "And this is the region of Kāśmīra, all-holy, and inhabited by great ṛishis: behold it, along with

[69] Zeitschrift, as above, ii. 67. and Schwanbeck, Megasthenis Indica, pp. 70, 117. Περὶ δὲ τῶν χιλιετῶν Ὑπερβορέων τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν Σιμωνίδῃ καὶ Ἱππάρχῳ καὶ ἄλλοις μυθολόγοις.

thy brothers. It was here that the conversation of all the northern ṛishis with Nāhusha, as well as that of Agni and Kāsyapa, occurred."

Fourth. In the Atharva-veda, v. 4. 8. the salutary plant "kushṭha" is spoken of as growing on the other side of the Himālaya: उदङ् जातो हिमवतः प्राच्यां नीयसे जनम्। "Produced to the north of the Himavat, thou art carried to the people in the east." This reference may perhaps be held to imply that the contemporaries of the author of this mantra had some acquaintance with the country on the other side of the great chain.

Fifth. In a passage of the Śānkhāyana or Kaushitakī-brāhmaṇa vii. 6 (cited by Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 153. note, and alluded to by Müller, "Last Results of the Turanian Researches," p. 340) it is reported that the north was resorted to at an early period for the purpose of studying language, as it was best known in that region: पथ्या स्वस्तिरुदीचीं दिशं प्राजानाद् वाग् वै पथ्या स्वस्तिस्तस्माद् उदीच्यां दिशि प्रज्ञाततरा वागुद्यते। उदञ्च उ एव यन्ति वाचं शिक्षितुम्। यो वा तत आगच्छति तस्य वा शुश्रूषन्ते इति स्माह। एषा हि वाचो दिक् प्रज्ञाता॥ "Pathyā Svasti (a goddess) knew the northern region. Now Pathyā Svasti is Vāch [the goddess of speech.] Hence in the northern region speech is better known and better spoken: and it is to the north that men go to learn speech: it is said that men listen to the instructions of any one who comes from that quarter: for that is renowned as the region of speech." On this the commentator Vināyaka Bhatta remarks (Weber, as above); प्रज्ञाततरा वागुद्यते। काश्मीरे सरस्वती कीर्त्यते। बदरिकाश्रमे वेदघोषः श्रूयते। वाचं शिक्षितुं सरस्वतीप्रसादार्थमुदञ्च एव यन्ति। यो वा प्रसादं लब्धा तत आगच्छति। स्माह प्रसिद्धमाह स्म सर्वलोकः॥ "'Language is better understood and spoken:' for Sarasvatī is spoken of [as having her

abode] in Kashmir, and in the hermitage of Badarikā [Badarināth in the Himālaya, apparently], the sound of the Vedas is heard. 'Men go to the north to learn language': to obtain the favour of Sārāsvāti; and 'he who comes thence,' having obtained her favour, 'is listened to with attention,' as every one knows, and repeats."

There may lie in this passage some faint reminiscence of an early connection with the north.

SECT. IX.—*Ancient Persian Tradition of the Earliest Abodes of the Arian Race.*

I shall now proceed to quote at some length the First Fargard of the Vendidad, descriptive of the creation of various countries by Ahura-mazda, which has been held, not without probability, to contain a reference to the earliest regions known to the Iranians. Being unacquainted with Zend, I shall borrow the abstract which I give of this section from the versions of Professor Spiegel,[70] and Dr. Haug.[71]

"Ahura-mazda spake to the holy Zarathustra: 'I formed into an agreeable region that which before was nowhere habitable. Had I not done this, all living things would have departed to *Airyana-vaējo*.'[72]

'I, Ahura-mazda, created as the first, best region, *Airyana-vaējo*, in a state of excellence. Then Angra-mainyus, the destroyer, formed in opposition to it, a great serpent, and winter [or snow] the creation of the *daēvas*. There are there ten months of winter, and two of summer.'

[70] Avesta: Die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen (Avesta: The Sacred Writings of the Parsīs), vol. i. pp. 61, ff.

[71] Das Erste Kapitel des Vendidād (The First Chapter of the Vendidad), pp. 18, ff.

[72] The purport of this is, Dr. Haug remarks, that Airyana-vaējo was originally the only cultivated country, and that all other countries were waste. As it was to be feared that the inhabitants of the waste would overrun Airyana-vaējo, other countries also were made habitable by Ahura-mazda.

'I, Ahura-mazda, created as the second, best region, Gāu, in which Sughdha is situated.'

[Here, and in most of the following cases, I omit the counter-creations of Angra-mainyus.]

'I, &c., created as the third, best region, Mōuru, the mighty, the holy.'

'I, &c., created as the fourth, best region, the fortunate Bakhdhī, with the lofty banner.'

'I, &c., created as the fifth, best region, Nisāi.'

'I, &c., created as the sixth, best region, Harōyu, abounding in houses [or water].'

'I, &c., created as the seventh, best region, Vaēkereta, where Dujak is situated. In opposition to it, Angra-mainyus, the destroyer, created the Pairika Khnathaiti, who clung to Kereśāśpa.'

'I, &c., created as the eighth, best region, Urvā, full of pastures.'

'I, &c., created as the ninth, best region, Khnēnta, in which Vehrkāna lies.'

'I, &c., created as the tenth, best region, the fortunate Haraqaiti.'

'I, &c., created as the eleventh, best region, Haētumat, the rich and shining.'

'I, &c., created as the twelfth, best region, Raghā, with three fortresses [or races].'

'I, &c., created as the thirteenth, best region, Chakhra, the strong.'

'I &c., created as the fourteenth, best region, Varena, with four corners; to which was born Thraētaŏno, who slew the serpent Dahāka.'

'I, &c., created as the fifteenth, best country, Hapta-hĕndu [from the eastern to the western Hendu[73]]. In opposition, Angra-mainyus created untimely evils, and pernicious heat [or fever].'

'I, &c., created as the sixteenth, and best, the people who live without a ruler on the sea-shore.'

[73] Spiegel omits the words within brackets.

'There are besides other countries, fortunate, renowned, lofty, prosperous and splendid.'"

I shall now adduce the most important comments of different authors on this curious passage.

Haug observes (p. 9), that "the winter of ten months duration assigned to Airyana-vaējō, points to a position far to the north, at a great distance beyond the Jaxartes; but the situation cannot, in the absence of any precise accounts, be more specifically fixed. Only so much is undeniable that the Iranians came from the distant north. The same thing results from the second fargard of the Vendidad, where the years of Yima are enumerated by winters, and the evils of winter are depicted in lively colours." The same writer further remarks (pp. 23, 24,): "By Airyana-vaējō we are to understand the original country of the Arians, and paradise of the Iranians. Its ruler was King Yima, the renowned Jemshēd of Iranian legends, who is hence called *śruto Airyēnē-vaējahi*, 'famous in Airyana-vaējo' (fargard ii.). In this region Ahura-mazda and Zarathustra adore the water of the celestial spring (*Ardvī śūrā anāhitā*, Yasht, 5. 17. 104); and here, too, Zarathustra supplicates Drvāśpā, and Ashi. Thus, Airyana-vaējō had become an entirely mythical region, the abode of gods and heroes, free from sickness, death, frost and heat, as is said of Yima's realm. We can, however, discover a historical substratum in the chapter before us. In Airyana-vaējō the winter lasts for ten months; but winter being a calamity inflicted by Angra-mainyus, was not compatible with the idea of a paradise, the abode of joy and blessedness. This long duration of winter is however perfectly characteristic of regions lying far to the north, and is a primitive reminiscence of the real cradle of the Iranians. In the legend of Airyana-vaējo an actual historical recollection of this earliest home has thus become blended with the conception of a primeval abode of mankind in paradise, such as is represented in so many popular traditions."

"Airyana-vaējo," says Spiegel, "is to be placed in the furthest

east of the Iranian plateau, in the region where the Oxus and Jaxartes take their rise."

The second country is Sogdiana; the third, Merv (the ancient Margiana); the fourth, Balkh (the ancient Bactria); the fifth, Nisa (the ancient Nisæa); the sixth, Herat (the ancient Aria); the seventh is Kabul, according to Spiegel, and Sejestan according to Burnouf, Lassen, and Haug; the eighth is Kabul according to Haug; the ninth is Gurgān according to Spiegel, and Kandahār according to Haug; the tenth is the Arachosia of the ancients; the eleventh is the valley of the Hilmend river; the twelfth is Rei in Media; the thirteenth may be Chihrem in Iran (Spiegel) or a city in Khorasan (Haug); the fourteenth is variously placed; the fifteenth is the country of the seven rivers *(saṗta-sindhavas)*, or the Panjāb; and the sixteenth may, Haug thinks, be sought on the shores of the Caspian Sea.

In regard to the age of the section under review, Dr. Haug remarks (p. 6): "The original document itself [as distinguished from certain additions which appear to have been interpolated in it] is certainly of high antiquity, and is undoubtedly one of the oldest of the pieces which compose the existing Vendidad. But in the form in which it lies before us (even after striking out the late interpolations) it is decidedly subsequent to Zarathustra; and later than the so-called *Gāthās*, in which, for the most part, the genuine sayings and doctrines of Zarathustra have been handed down. The chief reason for this conclusion is, that the passage under review exhibits the Persian doctrine in a far more developed shape than the songs of Zarathustra." And again in p. 7, "Though, there is thus no doubt that this fargard only dates from the period after Zarathustra, we do not thereby mean to say that it is of modern origin; on the contrary, its whole contents show that it must be very ancient. We can scarcely derive from it any fixed historical data. From the names of the countries, however, we can gather not only that the geographical knowledge of its author was very limited,

but also that the region actually occupied by the Arians was much more contracted than we afterwards find it."

Professor Spiegel remarks on the same fargard as follows (i. 59): "The great importance of this first chapter for the prehistorical age of the Indo-Germanic race in general, and of the Persian nation in particular, has been fully allowed by investigators of the mythology and history of the ancient world. Heeren, Rhode, Lassen, and others, have recognised in these accounts of the Vendidad a half-historical, half-mythical fragment, which reveals to us the state of geographical knowledge among the followers of the Avesta at the time when it was composed. Perhaps, we may also, with Rhode, discover in it the history of the gradual diffusion of the Iranian race, regarding the first mentioned country as their primeval abode, and those which follow as the regions which were peopled at a later date. The order in which the countries are arranged appears to tell in favour of this hypothesis."

In his second vol. p. cix., however, Professor Spiegel retracts his qualified adhesion to the view of Rhode. He says: "I cannot coincide in the attempt to discover in the first chapter of the Vendidad an account of the gradual migration of the Iranians. It has been said that that list of countries is a continuous history of their attempts at colonisation, beginning with their northern home, and ending with Hapta-Hendu or India. But the list nowhere speaks of any such migration. . . . . Hence, I see in this chapter nothing but a specification of the countries known to the Iranians at a particular time. This period however can not be a very recent one, as the name Hapta-Hendu is connected with the Vedic period. This name however may have been preserved in Persia after it had disappeared in India, and we cannot conclude from it that this fargard was composed contemporaneously with the Vedas."

M. Pictet, on the other hand, makes the following observations: "These names [of countries] enable us to follow step by step the extension of the Iranians over the vast domain which

they have ever since occupied. The thing which interests us the most in this enumeration is the point of departure, and the general direction of the movement. The first perfect abode which Ormuzd created is called *Airyana-vaējo*. . . . As Ritter and Lassen remark, the ten months of winter and only two of summer can only apply to the highest vallies of Belurtagh and Mustagh at the north-east corner of the Iranian table-land. But it is difficult to conceive that an 'excellent' abode could ever have existed there, unless we assume a very improbable alteration of climate. We are as little able to imagine how a country so savage and so poor could have been the cradle of a race so prolific as the Aryas. I believe, then, that we must separate, in this tradition, the mythical element from the historical data. *Airyana-vaējo*, the primeval paradise, was probably nothing more than a very confused reminiscence of the country originally inhabited by the Aryas. At their dispersion, the Perso-Arian branch, driven back perhaps by the gradual increase of the Arian population, may have directed their steps towards the east as far as the high vallies of Belurtagh and Mustagh, where their further progress would be arrested. At a later period, when the emigration of the other Arian tribes had left the field clear, they descended from these unprofitable regions towards the more favoured countries of which they had preserved some recollection, as we learn from the myth in the Vendidad."—Origines Indo-Européennes, pp. 36, 37.

Professor Müller's views on the first fargard of the Vendidad will be found above, in note 56, p. 315.[73*]

### SECT. X.—*What was the Route by which the Aryas penetrated into India?*

We have already seen (pp. 304–322) that according to the most numerous authorities, Bactria, or its neighbourhood, was the country which the different branches of the Indo-European race

[73*] See App. note H.

occupied in common before their separation. Professor Benfey, who, apparently, differs to some extent from other scholars in designating that primeval country as Tartary, is of opinion that the Indian and Persian branches of this family may, after their separation from the others, have dwelt together, more to the south, in Little Thibet, the country near the sources of the Indus. In regard to the route by which the Indo-Arians immigrated into Hindusthan, he makes the following remarks (Indien, pp. 14, ff.):

"If, then, as we assume, the Arians (*i. e.* the Indians and Persians) originally dwelt together in the region of Little Thibet, the question arises how they came into the separate seats which we find them occupying in historical times. It is by no means impossible that the entire mass of Arians may have first of all taken a western route towards Bactria, &c., and have then spread themselves through the passes of the Hindu-kush into Cabul and Affghanistan, that great region which formed as it were the bridge between the eastern Arians or Sanskrit-speakers and the western, or proper Arians, and in which, in historical times, both branches encountered each other. The Sanskrit-speaking Arians would then have penetrated into their new abodes by the same route across the Indus by which foreign nations have generally entered. Their immigration by this side has been assumed by Wilson, A. W. von Schlegel, Lassen and others. I do not venture directly to deny that this was the route they took, especially as I admit, *in limine*, that historical certainty is not to be expected for periods of so great antiquity: but many considerations appear to me to tell in some measure against it. The Indians regard Brahmāvartta, the tract of land between the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī, as the peculiar centre point of Indian civilisation. Bordering on this tract are Kurukshetra, (in the region of the modern Delhi) the Matsyas, (on the Jumna) the Panchālas in the vicinity of the modern Canoj, and the Śūrasenas (in the district of Mathurā) called by Arrian (after Megasthenes) Σουρασῆναι. This is called the land of the Brahmarshis. Madhyadeśa, or the central land, is next named,

which embraces the two preceding tracts, is bounded to the south by the Vindhya, on the north by the Himālaya, and stretches from Vinaśana in the east to Prayāga in the west. Finally Āryāvartta embraces all the foregoing tracts and reaches from sea to sea. We see here the narrow limits to which the country regarded as the most sacred, is confined; and how this division appears, as it were, to indicate the gradual extension of the Sanskrit-speaking people from that point, in continually widening circles. This small tract is bordered by the Sarasvatī and it is remarkable that at the point where the country of the western Arians (the Persians) begins, the same name meets us in its Zend form Haraqaiti. In the holy land (to the north) the Sarōvara (the best of waters) played the principal part: are we then to suppose that the two Arian nations, independent of each other, yet united by the spiritual bond of water-worship, in recollection of the sacred *Saras* ('lake') recognised again in their new abodes the *Sarasvatī?* Although this point alone appears to me to indicate that the Sanskrit-speaking people found their first Indian abodes on the banks of the Sarasvatī, the fact of the Ganges being their holiest river tells still more in favour of the same conclusion. If they came to India with the religious necessity of paying reverence to a great river, why (if they arrived from the north-west) were they not contented with the Indus (which they first encountered); and how was it that they only found the satisfaction of this want in the Ganges, which was so far distant[74]? Finally the oldest city which according to the legend was founded in India is that which the Paṇḍavas (the pale, white men in contrast to the black population) built in the Khāndava forest on the Jumna—a situation which was far removed from the Indus and close to the holiest region. These Paṇḍavas, according to another passage of the Mahābhārata, were educated in the Himālaya.

[74] [But they seem at first to have paid very little regard to the Ganges, as we shall see further on.—J. M.]

"While, however, through the force of all these considerations, we incline to the opinion that the tract between the Jumna and the Sarasvatī was at once the holiest and the earliest seat of the Arians in India, we are not thereby compelled to abandon the view that they might have penetrated by the route of the Indus, though this view thus loses much of its probability. If in the description of the several tracts given in Manu's Institutes, we are to recognise a sort of history of the extension of the Aryas in northern India, we may also deduce from it with tolerable certainty that the most ancient colonists immigrated in small numbers. This view is further supported by the circumstance that, though apparently 3000 years have elapsed from that time to the present, still so many fragments of the aboriginal population have survived, and have never been entirely subdued by the Arians, even in their most flourishing era, and in the tracts of which they were most completely masters. If, however, the Aryas immigrated only in small numbers, they could not possibly have traversed the regions lying between the Indus and the Sarasvatī (which Alexander the Great in his invasion never reached), without ever entertaining the thought of settling till they arrived at the tract which, it appears to us, must be regarded as their first fixed abode. I conjecture from this that they crossed over from their ancient seats beyond, and in the northern vallies of, the Himālaya, into the southern plains, rather as peaceable colonists than as martial conquerors. The passes over which the road lies are, it is true, difficult, but by no means insuperable, and are available for traffic and every sort of intercourse, though difficult for warlike operations. By these routes the first Aryas who settled in India, partly following the various branches of the Ganges, might have found their way, through Kemaon, Garhwal, or Sirmur, to the plains situated to the south of the Himālaya. Here they founded Indraprastha, and thence spread themselves around, subduing the feeble Mlechhas, and gradually conquering all the parts of India which were not too difficult of access."

A. W. von Schlegel, on the other hand, thinks that the Indo-Arians must have penetrated into India from the west. After describing the difficulties of the sea routes leading to India from the south, and of the land route over the Himālaya from the north, he goes on to say: "The western side of India appears to be more open, as from Kashmīr to the delta of the Indus the boundaries are not otherwise marked than by that river itself. But in its upper course the Indus is not navigable, owing to its rapidity and its cataracts: and in addition its right bank is flanked by mountains. Towards the sea it spreads out into, or is surrounded by, marshes: more in the interior, and even above the confluence of the five rivers, it is bounded by sandy deserts. From that point to the place where it enters the plains near Attock, a tract intervenes where the passage may be more easily effected. Accordingly it is on this side that India has always been entered by foreign conquerors, by Semiramis, if her Indian expedition is authentic, . . . by Alexander the Great, Seleucus, and the Greek kings of Bactria, by the Indo-Scythians, or nomad races, who invaded certain provinces during the century preceding our era: by Mahmud of Ghazni, by the Afghans, the Moguls, and the Persians under Nadir Shah. Thus all probabilities are united in favour of the supposition that the ancestors of the Hindus came from the same side; a supposition which we find to be confirmed by arguments of another kind. The Panjab would consequently be the first country occupied by the colonists. Tradition does not, however, celebrate this as a classic region. On the contrary, in a passage of the Mahābhārata, published and commented on by Lassen, its inhabitants are described as less pure and correct in their customs than the real Aryas, as perhaps they had been corrupted by the vicinity of barbarians. This leads us to believe that it was only after the colonists had spread themselves over the plains of the Ganges, that their form of worship, and the social order dependant upon it, could have assumed a permanent form."—Essais littéraires et historiques, pp. 455-457.

The same view is taken by Lassen (Indian Antiquities, i. 511).

"The Indians, like most other nations of the ancient world, believe themselves to be autochthonous: their sacred legends represent India itself as the scene of creation, as the abode of the patriarchs, and the theatre of their deeds; and they have no recollection of having sprung from any country out of India, or of having ever lived beyond the bounds of their own Bhārata-varsha. (See however above, p. 323, ff.)

"It is true that we might be tempted to discover in the superior sacredness which they ascribe to the north, a reference, unintelligible to themselves, to a closer connection which they had formerly had with the northern countries; for the abodes of most of the gods are placed towards the north in and beyond the Himalaya, and the holy and wonderful mountain Meru is situated in the remotest regions in the same direction. A more exact examination will, however, lead to the conviction that the conception to which we have referred, has been developed in India itself, and is to be derived from the peculiar character of the northern mountain-range. The daily prospect of the snowy summits of the Himalaya glittering far and wide over the plains, and in the strictest sense insurmountable, and the knowledge which they had of the entirely different character of the table-land beyond, with its extensive and tranquil domains, its clear and cloudless sky and peculiar natural productions, would necessarily designate the north as the abode of the gods and the theatre of wonders; while its holiness is explicable from the irresistible impression produced upon the mind by surrounding nature. Uttara Kuru, the Elysium in the remotest north, may be most properly regarded as an ideal picture created by the imagination, of a life of tranquil felicity, and not as a recollection of any early residence of the Kurus in the north. Such at least is true of the representation which we have of this country in the epic poems. It is, however, probable that originally, and as late as the Vedic era, a recollection of this sort attached

itself to that country, though in later times no trace of it has been preserved."

After stating the reasons (already detailed above, pp. 307—309), which lead us to conclude that the Indians could not have been autochthonous, Lassen proceeds as follows (p. 515): "There is only one route by which we can imagine the Arian-Indians to have immigrated into India; they must have come through the Panjab, and they must have reached the Panjab through western Kabulistan. The roads leading from the country on the Oxus into eastern Kabulistan and the valley of the Panjkora, or into the upper valley of the Indus down upon Gilgit, and from thence either down the course of the Indus, or from Gilgit over the lofty plateau of Deotsu down on Kashmir, are now known to us as the roughest and most difficult that exist, and do not appear to have been ever much or frequently used as lines of communication. We can only imagine the small tribes of the Daradas to have come by the second route from the northern side of the Hindukush into their elevated vallies, but we cannot suppose the mass of the Arians to have reached India by this road. All the important expeditions of nations or armies which are known to us have proceeded through the western passes of the Hindukush, and if we suppose the Arian-Indians to have come into India from Bactria, this is the only route by which we can assume them to have arrived." It is true that the Hindus attach no idea of sanctity to the Panjab; on the contrary, "the Sarasvati is the western boundary of the pure land, governed by Brahmanical law. There are, indeed, Indians dwelling further to the west, but they do not observe the Brahmanical ordinances in all their integrity. But this mode of regarding the western tribes can only have arisen after the Indian institutions had been developed, and a marked difference had become observable between the people living east of the Sarasvati, and those on the western border. The people of the Panjab always appear as descended from the same stock, and in spite of the aversion in question,

the epic legends recount to us frequent relations between the kings of the pure portion of India, and the tribes to the westward. There is no break in the chain of Indian races towards the west."

M. Burnouf briefly indicates his opinion on the question with which we are now occupied, by speaking of "the movement which from the earliest ages had carried the Arian race from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Ganges into the Dekhan," &c., Preface to Bhag. Pur., vol. iii. p. xxix.

I am not aware whether Professor Roth has ever expressed an opinion as to the precise route by which the Arians entered India; but in his work on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda (1846), p. 136, he writes as follows: "It is more than probable that the bulk of the tribes which we may designate as the Vedic people dwelt nearer to the Indus than the Jumna, and that the battle which is described in the hymn before us was one of those conflicts in which the northern tribes pressed upon the southern, on their way towards the regions which they were eventually to occupy. The Indus is well known and frequently celebrated in the hymns of the Rig-veda, while at this moment I know of only one passage in which the Ganges is mentioned, and that only in a way which assigns to it an inferior rank."

The same writer in his article on "Brahma and the Brahmans," in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1847, p. 81, again expresses himself thus: "When the Vedic people, expelled by some shock—and that at a period more recent than the majority of the hymns of the Veda—relinquished their seats in the Panjab and on the Indus, advanced further and further to the south, drove the aborigines into the hills, and occupied the broad tracts lying between the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Vindhya range, the time had arrived when the division of power, the relations of king and priest, could become transformed in the most rapid and comprehensive manner."

Professor Weber also speaks of the Arians as at one time dwelling beyond the Indus. In his Hist. of Ind. Lit. (1852),

pp. 2 and 3, he writes: "In the oldest parts of the Rig-veda the Indian people appear to us as settled on the north-western borders of India, in the Panjab, and even beyond the Panjab, on the borders of the Kubhā river, the Κωφην in Kabul.[75] The gradual diffusion of this people from this point towards the east, beyond the Sarasvatī, and over Hindustan as far as the Ganges, can be traced almost step by step in the later portions of the Vedic writings."

In his "Recent Investigations on Ancient India," the same writer similarly remarks: "The oldest hymns of the Veda show us the Arian people still dwelling beyond, or at least, only on the north-western frontiers of India; viz., in the tract between the Cabul river and the Indus, as well as in the Panjab. Their advance from this point, and extension over India can be traced step by step in their literature. Their road lay to the north of the great desert of Marwar, from the Satadru (the modern Sutlej) to the Sarasvatī, a river (esteemed at a later period as of the highest sanctity) which loses itself in the sands of the desert. This must have been a point where they made a halt of long continuance, as may be concluded from the great sacredness ascribed in later times to this region. At that period it formed the boundary line between the Brahmanical organization which was being now formed in Hindustan, and those Arian races of the west which retained the free manner of life inherited from their forefathers."—Indian Sketches, pp. 13, 14.

[75] In his Indische Studien, vol. i. p. 165 (published 1849, 1850), Weber speaks of the "Arian Indians being driven by a deluge from their home (see above, p. 324, ff.), and coming *from the north, not from the west (as Lassen* i. 515, *will have it)* into India; first of all to Kashmir and the Panjab; as it is only in this way that we can explain the *northern* Kurus and the *northern* Madras, with whom the conception of the golden age became afterwards associated." As, however, in the passages quoted in the text, which were written at a later date, Weber supposes the Arians to have dwelt on the Kabul river, they must, in order to arrive there, have either arrived by the route which Lassen assigns, or have afterwards spread themselves to the westward.

M. Langlois in the Preface to his French Translation of the R.-V., speaks to the same effect, pp. ix. x.: "The hymns of the Rig-veda were composed for tribes which had come from the banks of the Indus, and were living in the plains watered by the Ganges. This people seems to have belonged to that great branch of the human race known under the name of the Aryas. They brought with them a mild and simple civilization, patriarchal manners, a polished language. . . . These Aryas, as they established themselves in India, drove back before them the ancient populations, which then proceeded to occupy the forests and mountains, and which, on account of their savage customs and murderous depredations, became, for the Aryas, the types of those evil spirits which they have depicted in their books. At the head of the first colony there must have been a prince of the Arian nation called Manu, whom the traditions represent as the father of mankind."

In another place, in a note to R.-V. i. 33. 3 (p. 264, vol. i. of his work, note 2), the same author writes still more explicitly as regards the point under consideration: "It is my opinion that the Indian colony conducted by Manu, which established itself in Āryāvārtta, came from the countries which lie to the west of the Indus, and of which the general name was Aria, Ariana, Hiran."

Professor Müller does not, as far as I am aware, any where determine the route by which the Arians arrived in India, more precisely than is done in the following passages: "At the first dawn of traditional history we see these Arian tribes migrating across the snow of the Himālaya, southward towards the 'seven rivers' (the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjāb, and the Sarasvatī), and ever since India has been called their home."—Last Results of Sanskrit Researches, p. 129. And again, at p. 131, he writes: "After crossing the narrow passes of the Hindu-kush or the Himālaya, they [the southern Arians] conquered, or drove before them . . . . the aboriginal inhabitants of the Trans-Himalayan countries." In his "Last Results

of the Turanian Researches," p. 340, he says: "The Arians were strangers in the land of the Indus and Ganges, but no one can now determine the exact spot whence they came, and where they had been previously settled. Traditions current among the Brahmans as to the northern regions, considered the seats of the blessed, may be construed into a recollection of their northern immigration—holy places along the rivers of northern India, where even in later times Brahmans went to learn the purest Sanskrit, may mark the stations of their onward course—the principal capitals of their ancient kingdoms may prove the slow but steady progress towards the mouths of the principal rivers of India, but with the sources of those rivers the homes of the Arian strangers vanish from our sight, even after we have reached the highest points of view accessible on Indian ground." (See above, pp. 309, 310.)

Whatever other and minor differences of view may exist between the several authorities whom I have last cited, they are all of one accord at least in regard to this one point, that India is not the original country of the Hindus.

### SECT. XI. *The immigration of the Indo-Arians from the North-west rendered probable by the tenor of the Vedic Hymns.*

The immigration of the Arians, the progenitors of the Brahmanical Indians, into India from the north-west, is further rendered probable by the fact that the writers of the Vedic hymns appear to be most familiar with the countries lying in that direction, *i.e.*, with the north-western parts of India itself, as well as with the countries bordering on, or beyond the Indus, and with the rivers which flow through those regions; while the countries and rivers in the central and eastern parts of India are more rarely mentioned; and no allusion whatever is made to the regions of the south. On this subject I borrow the following remarks from Professor Roth's work on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 136: "The Sindhu (Indus) is well known and

frequently celebrated in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, while at present I know of only one hymn in which the Ganges is mentioned, and that only in a subordinate capacity. This passage occurs in one of the hymns ascribed to Sindhukshit, son of Priyamedha, which is addressed to the Sindhu, 'the most copious of streams,' *(apasām apastamā)*. The other rivers are solicited to regard graciously the praises of the poet, which are dedicated to the Sindhu.[75*] The passage is, after Yāska (Nirukta, ix. 26), to be explained thus: 'Gangā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Śutudri, with the Parushṇi, receive graciously my hymn. Marudvridhā, hear with the Asiknī, the Vitastā; Arjikīyā, hear with the Sushomā.'"[76]

Another passage in which the Indus is mentioned is the following, R.-V. i. 126. 1.: अमन्दान् स्तोमान् प्रभरे मनीषा सिन्धावधि क्षियतो भाव्यस्य। यो मे सहस्रम् अमिमीत

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[75*] R.-V. x. 75. 6: इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या। असिक्न्या मरुद्वृधे वितस्तयार्जीकीये शृणुह्या सुषोमया॥

[76] Part of Yāska's note (Nirukta, ix. 26) is as follows: इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि परुष्णि स्तोमम् आसेवध्वम् असिक्न्या च सह मरुद्वृधे वितस्तया चार्जीकीये आशृणुहि सुषोमया चेति समस्तार्थः। . . . इरावतीं परुष्णीत्याहुः। . . . असिक्न्याशुक्लासिता। . . . मरुद्वृधाः सर्वा नद्यो मरुत एना वर्द्धयन्ति। . . . आर्जीकीयां विपाडित्याहुः। (See Part I. p. 116, end of note 23.) "The entire sense is, 'Receive this hymn, O Gangā, Yamunā, Saraswatī, Śutudrī, Parushṇi, and Marudvridhā along with the Asiknī, and Ārjikīyā along with the Vitastā and Sushomā.' . . . Parushṇī is a name of the Irāvatī. . . . Asiknī means 'black.' . . . All rivers [may be called] Marudvridhā, because they are swollen by the Maruts. . . . Ārjikīyā is a name of the Vipāś." See Roth's remarks on these rivers, in his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 136—140.

सवान् अतूर्त्तो श्रव इच्छमानः। "With my intellect, I produce energetic encomiums upon Svanaya, the son of Bhavya, who dwells on the Sindhu; the invincible prince, who, desirous of renown, has performed through me a thousand oblations." In the 7th verse of the same hymn we find a reference which indicates familiarity with the country of the Gandhāris and its sheep: सर्वा ऽहमस्मि रोमशा गन्धारीणामिवाविका॥ "I am all downy, like a ewe of the Gandhāris." Gandhāra is placed by Lassen (in the map of ancient India in Vol. II. of his Indian Antiquities) to the west of the Indus, and to the south of the Cophen or Kabul river, the same position to which the Gandaritis of the ancients is referred.[77] The word Sindhu also occurs in the following passages of the Rig-veda, viz., i. 94. 16; i. 122. 6; ii. 15. 6; iv. 30. 12; v. 53. 9; vii. 33. 3; viii. 20. 25; x. 64. 9. It is, however, difficult to say whether the Indus be always meant. The last of these passages (which occurs in a hymn to the Viśve devas) is as follows, R.-V. x. 64. 9: सरस्वती सरयुः सिन्धुरूर्मिभि र्महो महीरवसाऽऽयन्तु वक्षणीः। देवीरापो मातरः सूदयित्नवो घृतवत् पयो मधुमद् नो अर्चत॥ "Let the Sarasvatī, the Sarayu, the Sindhu, with their waves; let the great rivers come with their succour. Divine waters, mothers, flowing, impart (?) to us your waters with butter and honey."

The verse which has been cited above from the Rig-veda, x. 15. 6, in the extract from Professor Roth's work, is followed by another[78] in which the names of several other rivers are men-

[77] The Gandarii are mentioned by Herodotus, vii. 66, along with the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Dadikæ, as forming part of the army of Xerxes. See the Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. 103, ff.

[78] R.-V. x. 75. 7: तृष्टामया प्रथमं यातवे सजूः सुसर्त्वा रसया श्वेत्या त्या। त्वं सिन्धो कुभया गोमतीं क्रुमुं मेहत्न्वा सरथं याभिरीयसे॥

tioned, viz., the Tṛishṭāma, the Rasā,[79] the Śvetī, the Kubhā, the Gomatī, and the Krumu. In Roth and Böhtlingk's Lexicon, the last three streams are set down as being affluents of the Indus.[79*] That they were really so is rendered probable by their being mentioned in conjunction with that river. In the case of the Kubhā, the probability is strengthened by its name, which has a close resemblance to that of the Κωφην, or Kabul river, which falls into the Indus, a little above Attock (see the passage from Weber's Ind. Liter., above p. 352). This river is mentioned again in R.-V. v. 53. 9: मा वो रसाऽनितभा कुभा क्रुमु र्मा वः सिन्धुर्नि रीरमत्। मा वः परिष्ठात् सरयुः पुरीषिणी अस्मे दत् सुम्नमस्तु वः॥ "Let not, O Maruts, the Rasā, the Anitabhā, the Kubhā, the Krumu or the Sindhu arrest you: let not the watery Sarayu stop you: let the joy you impart come to us." Another of the rivers named in the verse previously cited (R.-V. x. 75. 7), and declared by Roth to be an affluent of the Indus, is the Gomatī. It is not necessary that we should identify this river with the Gomatī (Goomtee), which rises to the north-west of Oude and flows past Lukhnow. A river of the same name is mentioned again in R.-V. viii. 24. 30: एषो अपश्रितो वलो गोमतीमनु तिष्ठति॥ "This powerful man dwells afar on the [banks of the] Gōmāti." It is quite possible that the name of the river in

[79] The Rāsā is considered by Dr. Aufrecht, in his explanation of R.-V. x. 108, to denote there and elsewhere the "milky way." See Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xiii. p. 498. Yāska merely explains it as meaning a river: रसा नदी॥ Nir. xi. 25.

[79*] In his Elucidations (Erläuterungen) of the Nirukta, p. 34, note, Professor Roth remarks: "The Kōphēn is the Kubhā of the Veda, mentioned in R.-V. v. 53. 9, and x. 75. 7. If we identify the Krumu and Gomatī of this last text, with the Kurum and Gomal which flow into the Indus from the west (as Lassen proposes in a letter), we may regard the rivers whose names precede [the Tṛishṭāma, Rasā, Śvetī, and Anitabhā] as being affluents of the Indus further to the north than the Kōphēn."

Oude may have been borrowed from some stream further west.[80] Another river, the Suvāstu, which may be an affluent of the Indus, is mentioned in R.-V. viii. 19. 37; सुवास्त्वा अधि तुग्वनि ॥ These words are quoted in Nirukta, iv. 15, and explained thus: सुवास्तुर्नदी। तुग्म तीर्थं भवति॥ "Suvāstu is a river; *tugma* means a holy place." On this passage Roth observes, Erläuterungen, p. 43: "The bard Sobhari is recounting the presents which he received from Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, on the banks of the Suvāstu. In the Mahābhārata, vi. 333,[81] the Suvāstu is connected with the Gaurī. Now, according to Arrian, Indica, 4. 11,[82] the Soastos and Garoias flow into the Kōphēn. From comparing these two passages, it results with tolerable certainty that the Suvāstu is the same as the modern Suwad, a stream which flows into the Kabul river from the north, after first joining the Panjkora."

Returning now to R.-V. x. 75. 6, and taking first the most westerly streams there specified, we come (1.) to the Vitastā or Behat, (2.) the Asiknī or Chenab (Akesines), (3.) the Parushṇī, Irāvati, or Ravee, (4.) the Arjikīyā, Vipāś, or Beeas, and (5.) the Śutudrī, or Sutlej. Yāska, as we have seen, identifies the Parushṇi with the Irāvati, and the Arjikīyā with the Vipāś; Professor Roth considers the Asiknī to be the same as the Chenab or Akesines; and there is no doubt that the Vitastā is the Hydaspes, and that the Śutudrī is the Sutlej. We have, conse-

[80] There is a stream called Gomātī in Kemaon, which must be distinct from the river in Oude, as the latter rises in the plains.

[81] In the list of rivers in the description of Jambukhaṇḍa. The words are: वास्तुं सुवास्तुं गौरीञ्च कम्पनां सहिरण्वतीम्॥ "The Vāstu, the Suvāstu, the Gaurī, the Kampanā, and the Hiraṇvatī."

[82] Κωφὴν δὲ ἐν Πευκελαιήτιδι, ἅμα ὀι ἄγων Μάλαντόν τε καὶ Σόαστον καὶ Γαρρόιαν, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ινδόν. "The Kophen unites with the Indus in Peukĕlæētis, bringing with it the Malantus, the Soastus, and the Garrœas." Professor Wilson, (Ariana Ant. pp. 183, 190, 194) thinks these two last names really denote one and the same river. See App. note I.

quently, in this passage an enumeration of the rivers of the Panjāb. The Asikni is again mentioned in R.-V. viii. 20. 25; the Parushṇi in R.-V. vii. 18. 8, 9, and viii. 63. 15; the Śutudri in iii. 33. 1; and the Vipāś in iii. 33. 1, 3. and iv. 30. 11.

The other rivers named in the passage so often referred to, R.-V. x. 75. 6, are the Sarasvatī, the Gangā, and the Yamunā. The following are some of the most remarkable passages in which the Sarasvatī is celebrated. In iii. 23. 4, it is thus mentioned along with the Drishadvatī, (with which Manu, ii. 17, also associates it) and the Āpāyā: नि त्वा दधे वरे आ पृथिव्या इळायास्पदे सुदिनत्वे अह्नाम्। दृषद्वत्यां मानुषे आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि॥ "On an auspicious day I place thee on the most sacred spot of Iḷā, the earth. Shine, O Agni, wealth-bestowing, in the assembly of men on the banks of the Drishadvatī, the Āpāyā, the Sarasvatī.' In R.-V. vi. 61. 2, the same river is thus magnified: इयं शुष्मेभि र्बिसखा इवारुजत् सानु गिरीणां तविषेभिरूर्मिभिः। पारावतघ्नीम् अवसे सुवृक्तिभिः सरस्वतीम् आ विवासेम धीतिभिः॥ "By her force, and her impetuous waves she has broken down the sides of the mountains, like a man digging lotus fibres. For succour let us, with praises and ceremonies, invoke Sarasvatī who sweeps away her banks." [83] In verse 13 of the same hymn the same epithet *ăpăsăm apastamā*, "most copious of streams," which is applied to the Sindhu in R.-V. x. 75. 7. (see above p. 355), is also assigned to the Sarasvatī.

[83] In reference to this verse, Yāska observes, ii. 23: तत्र सरस्वतीत्येतस्य नदीवत् देवतावच्च निगमा भवन्ति। . . अथैतद् नदीवत् "There are texts which speak of Sarasvatī both as a river and as a goddess. In the following she is referred to as a river." He then quotes the verse before us.

Hymns 95 and 96 of the seventh book of the Rig-veda are devoted to the praises of the Sarasvatī and her male correlative the Sarasvat. The first and part of the second verse of the former hymn are as follows: प्र चोदसा धायसा सस्र एषा सरस्वती धरुणम् आयसीः पूः। प्र बाबधाना रथ्येव याति विश्वा अपो महिना सिन्धुरन्याः॥ एका अचेतत् सरस्वती नदीनां शुचि र्यती गिरिभ्य आसमुद्रात्॥ "This Sarasvati has flowed on with a protecting current, a support, an iron defence. This stream [or the Sindhu] rushes on as if [driven by] a charioteer, by her greatness outrunning all other rivers.[84] Sarasvatī is known as the one river, flowing on pure from the mountains to the sea."[85]

The Jumna is mentioned in two other passages of the Rig-veda besides x. 75. 5. In v. 52. 17, reference is made to property in cows and horses on the banks of the Yamunā;[86] and in vii. 18. 19 it is said that the "Yamunā gladdened Indra."[87] I have found a reference to the Gangā in one other passage besides x. 75. 5, viz., in vi. 45. 31,[88] where the adjective *gāngya*,

[84] See the translation of this verse in Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 157 under the word *rathī*.

[85] Langlois, vol. iii. p. 241, note 13, thinks that Sarasvatī in this hymn stands, not for a river, but for "the goddess of sacrifice," with her libations. "These libations form a river, which flows from the mountains, where the sacrifice is performed, and where the soma plant is collected. This river flows into the *samudra* (sea), which is the vessel destined to receive the libations."

[86] R.-V. v. 52. 17: यमुनायाम् अधि श्रुतम् उद् राधो गव्यं मृजे नि राधो अश्व्यं मृजे॥

[87] R.-V. vii. 18. 19: आवदिन्द्रं यमुना दृत्यादि॥

[88] See Roth, Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, p. 136; and above p. 354. The words are: उरुः कक्षो न गाङ्ग्यः॥ Roth, *sub voce* kaksha, says, the sense of the word *kaksha* is uncertain. Langlois does not translate it. Wilson misapprehends Sāyana's explanation.

"belonging to the Gangā," occurs. But the Rig-veda contains no hymn devoted to the celebration of the Gangā, such as we find appropriated to the Sindhu and Sarasvatī.

The Sarayu is also referred to in three passages in the R.-V. iv. 30. 18, v. 53. 9. and x. 64. 9. The first of these texts runs thus: उत त्या सद्य आर्य्या सरयोरिन्द्र पारतः। अर्णाचित्ररथा अवधीः। "Thou hast straightway slain these two Aryas, Arna, and Chitraratha on the other side of the Sarayu." The second and third have been already quoted in pp. 356, 357. The Sarayu named in these passages, particularly the last two, *may* be different from the river of the same name which now flows along the north-eastern frontier of Oude, as it is mentioned in connection with rivers all of which appear to be in the Panjab. But it is not necessary to suppose this, as we shall presently see that one of the Vedic rishis was acquainted with Kikaṭa or Behar. In the Rig-veda we have no mention made of the rivers of the south, which have in later ages become so renowned in Hindusthan for their sanctity, the Narmadā, the Godaveri, and the Kavērī.

We have already seen (p. 337) that the Himālaya mountains are mentioned in the Atharva-veda. In a fine hymn, the 121st of the 10th mandala of the R.-V., also, we have the following verse: x. 121. 4: यस्येमे हिमवन्तो महित्वा यस्य समुद्रं रसया सहाऽऽहुः॥ "He whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the river declare,"[89] &c. But no allusion to the Vindhya range, which runs across the central parts of India, is to be found in the Rig-veda.

The following text from the R.-V. shows that the author of the hymn (said to be Viśwāmitra) knew something of the coun-

[89] See Müller's translation in Bunsen's Gott in der Geschichte, Part II. p. 107. The Himālaya is also mentioned, A.-V. xii. 1. 11: गिरयस्ते पर्वता हिमवन्तोऽरण्यं ते पृथिवि स्योनमस्तु॥ "May thy mountains be snowy, O earth, and thy wilderness beautiful."

tries to the eastward as far as Kikaṭa or Behar: R.-V. iii. 53. 14. किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावो नाशिरं दुह्रे न तपन्ति घर्मम्। आ नो भर प्रमगन्दस्य वेदो नैचाशाखं मघवन् रन्धया नः॥ "What are thy cows doing among the Kikaṭas? They yield no milk for oblations; and they heat no fire. Bring us the wealth of Pramaganda [or the usurer]; and subdue to us, O Maghavat, (Indra), the degraded man (naichāśākha)." Yāska explains Kikaṭa as "a country inhabited by people who were not Āryyas;" Nirukta, vi. 32: कीकटा नाम देशेऽनार्य्यनिवासः॥[90] The word *Kikaṭa* is given in the vocabulary called Trikaṇḍa-śesha, as equivalent to *Magadha*. In Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, the following lines are quoted from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa i. 3. 24.: ततः कलौ संप्रवृत्ते संमोहाय सुरद्विषाम्। बुद्धो नाम्नाञ्जनसुतः कीकटेषु भविष्यति। "Then, when the

[90] Sāyaṇa gives an alternative explanation of *kikaṭaḥ*, borrowed from a hint in Yāska: यद्वा क्रियाभिर्यागदानहोमलक्षणाभिः किं फलिष्यतीत्यश्रद्धानाः प्रत्युत पिबत खादतायमेव लोको न पर इति वदन्तो नास्तिकाः कीकटाः॥ "Or the Kikaṭās are atheists, who, being destitute of faith, say, 'what fruit will result from sacrifices, alms, or oblations? rather eat and drink, for there is no other world but this.'" In Sāyaṇa's introduction to the Rig-veda (Müller's edit. vol. i. p. 7), an aphorism of the Mimansa, with a comment, is quoted, in which an objector demurs to the eternity of the Veda, because objects and persons who existed in time are mentioned in it. In the objector's statement, Naichaśākha is spoken of as a city, and Pramaganda as a king: किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेष्विति मंत्रे कीकटो नाम जनपद आम्नातः। तथा नैचशाखं नाम नगरं प्रमगन्दो नाम राजेत्येतेऽर्था अनित्या आम्नाताः॥ "In the verse, 'what do thy cows among the Kikaṭas, &c.,' a country named Kikaṭa is recorded, together with a city called Naichaśākha and a king called Pramaganda; all which are non-eternal objects."

Kali age has begun, a person named Buddha, son of Aṅjana, will be born among the Kīkaṭas, in order to delude the enemies of the gods (the Asuras)." The commentator on the Bhāg. Pur. explains the Kikaṭas by मध्ये गयाप्रदेशे। "in the district of Gayā." Again, Bhāg. Pur. vii. 10. 18, it is said: यत्र यत्र च मद्भक्ताः प्रशान्ताः समदर्शिनः। साधवः समुदाचारास्ते पूयन्तेऽपि कीकटाः॥ "In every place where those who are devoted to me, who are calm, who regard all things as alike, who are holy and virtuous are born, the men [of that country] are purified, even if they be Kikaṭas." Weber, however, in his Ind. Stud. i. 186, states his opinion that the Kikaṭas were not (as Yāska tells us) a non-Arian tribe, but a people, who, like the Vrātyas, were of Arian origin, though they did not observe Arian rites; and they may, he thinks, have been Buddhists, or the forerunners of Buddhism."

From these passages there seems to be no doubt that the Kīkaṭas were a people who lived in Magadha or Behar.

The following verses from one of the mantras of the Atharva-veda, v. 22, quoted and explained by Professor Roth in his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 37—42, may tend to show what were the limits of the country occupied by the Aryas at the date of its composition. These limits coincide with those indicated in the preceding passage from the Rig-veda, in which the Kīkaṭas are mentioned. This mantra contains an invocation to Takman, apparently a personified cutaneous disease, who is supplicated to withdraw to certain other tribes, whose names are specified, and whom we may therefore with probability conclude to have been regarded as without the Arian pale. A.-V. v. 22, verses 5. 7. 8. 12. 14: ओको अस्य मूजवन्त ओको अस्य महादृषाः। यावञ्जातस्तक्मंस्तावानसि बह्लिकेषु न्योचरः॥५॥ तक्मन् मूजवतो गच्छ बह्लिकान् वा परस्तराम्। गन्धारानिच्छ प्रफर्व्यं तां तक्मन् वीव धूनुहि॥७॥ महादृषान्

मूजवतो बन्ध्वङ्गि परेत्य। प्रैतानि तक्मने ब्रूमो अन्यक्षेत्राणि वा दूमा॥८॥ तक्मन् भ्रात्रा बलासेन स्वस्रा कासिकया सह। पाम्ना भ्रातृव्येण सह गच्छामुमरणं जनम्॥१२॥ गन्धारिभ्यो मूजवद्भ्योऽङ्गेभ्यो मगधेभ्यः। प्रैष्यं जनमिव शेवधिं तक्मानं परि दद्मसि॥१४॥ "His (Takman's) abode are the Mūjavats, his abode the Mahāvrishas. As soon as thou art born, O Takman, thou sojournest (?) among the Bahlikas. Go, Takman, to the Mūjavats, or far away to the Bahlikas. Choose the female Śūdra for food; and shake her. Passing by our friends (?), devour the Mahāvrishas and the Mūjavats. We point out to Takman these or those foreign regions. Takman, along with thy brother Balāsa, and with thy sister Kāsikā (cough), and with thy nephew Pāman, depart to that foreign people. We transfer Takman as a servant, and as a treasure, to the Gandhārins, the Mūjavats, the Angas, and the Magadhas."

The Mūjavats are again mentioned in the Vājasanēyi-sanhitā, 3. 61, as follows: एतत् ते रुद्रावसं तेन परो मूजवतोऽतीहि। अवततधन्वा पिनाकावसः कृत्तिवासा अहिंसन् नः शिवोऽतीहि॥[91] "This, O Rudra, is thy food; with it depart

[91] Mūjavat is explained by the commentator on the V.-S., as the name of a mountain, the place of Rudra's abode, मुजवान्नाम कश्चित् पर्वतो रुद्रस्य वासस्थानम्॥ The commentator on the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa says it is the "Northern Mountain," उदीच्यः पर्वतः॥ The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (2. 6. 2. 17.) thus comments on the text of the Vāj.-S. after quoting it: अवसेन वा अध्वानं यन्ति। तदेनं सावसमेवान्ववार्जति यत्र यत्रास्य चरणं तदनु। अत्र ह वा अस्य परो मूजवच्चरणं। तस्मादाह परो मूजवतोऽतीहीति अवततधन्वा पिनाकावस इत्यहिंसन्नः शिवोऽतीहीति एवैतदाह कृत्तिवासा इति। निष्वापयत्येवैनम् एतत्। स्वपन्तु हि न कञ्चन

beyond the Mūjavats. With thy bow unbent, and concealed from view, and clad in a skin, pass beyond, uninjuring us and propitious."

The Mūjavats being mentioned along with the Bahlikas, a Bactrian race, and with the Gandhāris (see above, p. 356,) may, as Roth thinks, be a hill tribe in the north-west of India; and the Mahāvrishas may belong to the same region.[92]

The Angas and Magadhas mentioned in verse 13, are on the contrary, tribes living in south Behar, and the country bordering on it to the east. We have thus in that verse two nations situated to the north-west, and two to the south-east, whom we may suppose, from the maledictions pronounced on them, to have been hostile, or alien tribes, who lived on the borders of Brahmanical India, and to have been beyond its boundaries at the time this incantation was composed. (Roth, Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 42.)

It does not, however, follow that the tribes who, in the Atharva-veda are spoken of as if they were hostile, or alien, were really of a non-Arian origin.

Thus, the Arians appear in later times to have been in communication with the Gandhāras. In the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa allusion is made to a royal sage called Svarjit, son of Nagnajit,

हिनस्ति। तस्मादाह क्षत्तिवासा इति॥ "Men go on their way with provision. He therefore sends him (Rudra) off with provision, wherever he has to go. Here his journey is beyond the Mūjavats; hence he says 'pass beyond the Mūjavats;' 'with bow unbent and concealed,' 'uninjuring us and propitious, pass beyond.' He adds 'clad in a skin.' This lulls him to sleep; for while sleeping he injures nobody. Wherefore he says 'clad in a skin.'" A derivative of the word Mūjavat occurs also in the R.-V. x. 34. 1: सोमस्येव मौजवतस्य भक्षः॥ "Like a draught of the soma produced on Mūjavat, or among the Mūjavats." Yāska, Nir. 9. 8. explains the word thus: मौजवतो मूजवंति जातो मूजवान् पर्वतः "'*Maujavatah*' means produced on Mūjavat: Mūjavat is a mountain."

[92] On the Bāhīkas and Bāhlīkas, see Lassen, Zeitsch. 1840, p. 194, and for 1839, p. 52, ff.

the Gāndhāra, who had expressed an opinion on the nature of breath or life; and although his view was not regarded as authoritative, still the very fact of its being quoted, and its author mentioned as a Rājanya, proves his Arian origin. This is the passage: Śat.-Br. viii. 1. 4. 10. अथ ह स्माह स्वर्जिन्नाग्नजितः। नग्नचिद्वा गान्धारः। . . . यत् स तदुवाच राजन्यबन्धुरिव त्वेव तदुवाच॥ "Further Svarjit, son of Nagnajit said. Now Nagnajit was a Gāndhāra. . . . . This which he said, he spake as a mere Rājanya." Nagnajit the Gandhāra, is also mentioned in the Ait.-Br. vii. 34, as one of the persons who received instruction regarding a particular rite from Parvata and Nārāda.[93] He is also mentioned[94] in the following passage of the Mahā-Bh. i. 2439 — 41. प्रह्लादशिष्यो नग्नजित् सुबलस्त्वाभवत् ततः। तस्य प्रजा धर्महंत्री जज्ञे देवप्रकोपनात्। गन्धारराजपुत्रोऽभूच्छकुनिः सौबलस्तथा। दुर्योधनस्य जननी जज्ञाते ऽर्थविशारदौ॥ "Nagnajit Subala was the disciple of Prahrāda. Owing to the wrath of the gods the offspring born to him became the enemies of righteousness. Two children were born to the king of Gandhāra (Nagnajit Subala), Śakuni Saubala, and the mother of Dūryodhana, who were both intelligent." Duryodhana was a Kuru prince, and one of the heroes of the Mahābhārata.

These passages are amply sufficient to prove that the Gandhāras were a people with whom the Arians of India were in the habit of holding intercourse, and contracting affinities, and from this intercourse we may reasonably infer a community of origin and language. On this subject Lassen remarks (Zeitsch. für die Kunde des Morgenl., iii. 206): "Though in individual passages of the Mahābhārata, hatred and contempt are expressed in reference to the tribes living on the Indus and its five great

[93] Roth, Lit. and Hist of the Veda, pp. 41, 42.

[94] See Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 218—220.

tributaries, yet there is no trace of these tribes being ever regarded as of non-Indian origin. That there was no essential difference in their language, is proved, as regards a later period, by the testimony of Pāṇini, which I have already cited." The previous passage here referred to is from the same article, p. 194, where it is said: "The word Bāhīka is used not only in the Mahābhārata, but also in Pāṇini[95] as a general designation for the tribes of the Panjab. The use of this appellation is thus fully certified; and if the grammarian found it necessary to give special rules for forming the names of the villages in the Bāhīka country, we may hence conclude that the Bāhīkas spoke Sanskrit, though they applied particular affixes differently from the other Indians."

The same writer elsewhere[96] remarks: "The Indians distinguish, not expressly, but by implication, the nations dwelling between the Sarasvatī, and the Hindu-kush, into two classes: first, those to the eastward of the Indus, and some of those immediately to the westward of that river, as the Gandhāras, are in their estimation still Indians; . . . . but with the exception of the Kāshmiras, and some less known races, these Indians are not of the genuine sort: the greater freedom of

[95] The aphorisms here referred to are iii. 3. 78, and iv. 2. 117, 118. The two latter, with the comments, are as follows: वाह्रीकग्रामेभ्यश्च॥११७॥ वाह्रीकग्रामवाचिभ्यो वृद्धसंज्ञकेभ्यष्ठञ्। ञिठ। इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः। शाकलिकी। शाकलिका॥ विभाषोशीनरेषु॥११८॥ उशीनरेषु ये वाह्रीकग्रामास्तदाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यष्ठञ्। ञिठ। इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ वा भवतः। सौदर्शनिकी। सौदर्शनिका॥ पक्षे छः। 'सौदर्शनीया॥ "117. The affixes *ṭhañ* and *ñiṭh* are employed in words taking *vṛiddhi*, which denote villages of the Vāhīkas; as Śākalikī Śākalikā. 118. The affixes *ṭhañ* and *ñiṭh* are optionally employed in words taking *vṛiddhi*, which denote Vāhīka villages in the country of the Uśīnaras; as *Saudarśanikī*, *Saudarśanikā*; or with the *chhas* affix, *Saudarśanīyā*.

[96] Zeitschrift, ii. 58. See also Asiat. Res. xv. 108; and App. note J.

their customs is regarded as a lawless condition." And Weber similarly remarks[97]: "The north-western tribes retained their ancient customs, which the other tribes who migrated to the east had at one time shared. The former kept themselves free from the influences of the hierarchy and of caste, which arose among the latter as a consequence of their residence among people of alien origin (the aborigines). But the later orthodox feelings of the more eastern Arians obliterated the recollection of their own earlier freedom; and caused them to detest the kindred tribes to the westward as renegades, instead of looking on themselves as men who had abandoned their own original institutions."

There are other races also, who, although in the later Sanskrit literature they are spoken of as being now aliens from the Brahmanical communion, are yet declared to have once belonged to the Kshattriya caste; and to have lost their position in it from neglect of sacred rites.[98] (See Part First of this Work, pp. 94, and 177—183.) In addition to this tradition, however, we have yet further proof of the Arian origin of some at least of these tribes. Thus, it appears from the following passage of the Nirukta (already quoted above, p. 161), that the Kambōjas spoke an Arian language: Nirukta, ii. 2, अथापि प्रकृतय एवैकेषु भाष्यन्ते विकृतय एकेषु। शवति र्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाष्यते। विकारमस्यार्येषु भाषन्ते शव इति। दाति र्लवनार्थे प्राच्येषु दात्रमुदीच्येषु॥ "Among some (tribes) the original forms are used, among others the derivatives. *Śavati* for the 'act of going' is used only among the Kambōjas, while its derivative *Śava* is used among the Āryas. *Dāti* is employed by the eastern people in the sense of 'cutting,' while the word

[97] Ind. Stud. i. 220.

[98] This tradition is, however, erroneously extended to some of the eastern and southern tribes, the Puṇḍras, Oḍras and Dravidas, who, as we shall afterwards see, could not have been of Arian origin.

*dātram* 'sickle' (only) is used by the men of the north." If, therefore, the testimony of Yāska in regard to the language used by the Kambōjas is to be trusted, it is clear that they spoke a Sanskrit dialect. It is implied in the remarks he has made, that a close affinity existed between the languages of the Aryas and Kambōjas; that the substance of both was the same, though in some respects it was variously modified and applied. For it is only where such a general identity exists, that the differences existing between any two dialects can excite any attention. Had the two languages had but little in common, no such comparison of minor variations could have suggested itself to the grammarians. Now the country of the Kambōjas was situated to the north-west of India, on the other side of the Indus. It is clear, therefore, that Sanskrit was spoken at some distance to the west of that river.

Professor Roth is even of opinion that this passage proves Sanskrit grammar to have been studied among the Kambōjas. In his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 67, he observes: "The multitude of grammarians whose opinions are cited in the Prātiśākhyas, proves how widely grammatical studies were pursued; and Yāska (Nirukta, ii. 2.) confirms this in a remarkable passage, according to which verbal forms were variously employed by the grammarians of four different provinces. These four tribes were the Kambōjas and Aryas, together with the Prachyas and Udīchyas (or eastern and northern peoples). It is thus irrefragably proved that the Kambōjas were originally not only an Indian people, but also a people possessed of Indian culture; and consequently that in Yāska's time this culture extended as far as the Hindu-kush. At a later period, as the well-known passage in Manu's Institutes (x. 43.) shows, the Kambōjas were reckoned among the barbarians, because their customs differed from those of the Indians. . . . . The same change of relation has thus, in a smaller degree, taken place

between the Kambōjas and the Indians, as occurred, in a remote antiquity, between the latter and the ancient Persians."[99]

Now, the fact that Sanskrit was spoken by the tribes to the west of the Indus, proves that that tract of country was inhabited by races of Arian origin, and of common descent with the Indians;[100] and affords an additional argument in support of the position that the Indo-Arians immigrated into India from that direction.

It may, however, perhaps, be objected that this passage not only proves that Sanskrit was spoken by the Kambojas, to the

[99] In his later work, the edition of the Nirukta, Roth suspects, for certain reasons, that so much of the passage before us as refers to the Kambojas may be interpolated. He adds, however, that "it is in so far valuable, as it shows that the ancient Indians imagined the Kambojas also to be students of Sanskrit Grammar." Erläut., pp. 17, 18. In the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vii. 373—377, Professor Müller makes some remarks on the same passage. He alludes to the fact that a similar passage occurs in the Mahābhāshya; and observes that "though this circumstance appears partly to confirm Roth's conjecture regarding the spuriousness of portions of the passage, it may also be possible that the Mahābhāshya has borrowed it from the Nirukta, or that both the Nirukta and the Mahābhāshya may have taken it from the common source of ancient grammatical tradition." In any case, this reference to a distant race like the Kambojas, looks as if it must have been borrowed from some ancient source. The passage of the Mahābhāshya is as follows, p. 62 of Dr. Ballantyne's edition: शवति गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति विकार एव एनम् आर्य्या भाषन्ते शव इति। हन्मतिः सुराष्ट्रेषु रंहतिः प्राच्यमध्यमेषु गमिमेव तु आर्य्याः प्रयुञ्जते। दाति र्लवनार्थे प्राच्येषु दात्रमुदीच्येषु॥ "*Śavati*, as a verb of going, is employed only by the Kambojas; the Aryas use it in the sense of change, for a corpse. The Surāshṭras use *hammati*, the central and eastern tribes *ranhati*, but the Āryas only *gami* in the sense of 'going.' *Dāti* occurs among the eastern tribes as the verb for 'cutting;' *dātra*, a 'sickle,' alone is used by the people of the north."

[100] See App. note K.

north-west, but by the men of the east also. Now, as we may presume that Yāska lived on the banks of the Sarasvatī, or of the Yamunā, or of the Gangā, the people whom he designates Prāchyas, or "men of the east," must have been the Kīkaṭas, or the Māgadhas, or the Angas, or the Vangas. But since it is evident from this passage that these tribes also spoke Sanskrit, it might in like manner be argued from this circumstance that the Aryas must have penetrated into India from the eastward. To this I reply, that we can prove from other passages, such as that in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, i. 4, i. 10—18 (which will be quoted further on), that the Arian civilisation travelled from the west to the east; and that therefore we may reasonably suppose that these Prāchya tribes did not originally live in the eastern country, but formed part of the population which had migrated from the west, or at least did not begin to speak Sanskrit till they had learnt it from the Arians coming from the west. And besides, this passage which I have quoted from Yāska does not stand alone; it is only auxiliary to the other arguments which have been adduced to show that the Indo-Arians came from the north-west.

This fact, that tribes speaking dialects of Sanskrit, lived to the north-west of India, might, it is true, be also explained on Mr. Curzon's hypothesis, that these tribes had *emigrated from India*. But this hypothesis is opposed, as we have already seen, p. 304, ff., to the other circumstances of the case.

The argument then, which I derive from the facts just detailed, when briefly stated, is this: We find the north-west of India to be occupied by various tribes, who spoke the same language as the Arian Indians. On the other hand, we find, (as will be shown at length in the next chapter,) that different parts (the eastern and southern as well as the north-western) of Hindusthan itself, were inhabited by a variety of tribes speaking languages fundamentally distinct from those of the Arian race. From this I

draw the conclusion that the Arian Indians must have come from without, from the same side which we find to be occupied from the earliest period by tribes speaking the same language; and have driven before them to the east and south the non-Arian races, to whom, on penetrating into India, they found themselves opposed. This subject, however, will be handled at length in the following chapter.

# CHAPTER III.

## THE ARIANS IN INDIA: THEIR ADVANCE TO THE EAST AND SOUTH.

In the preceding chapter I have endeavoured, by a variety of arguments derived from comparative philology, and from general history, as well as from the most ancient written records of the Indians and the Iranians, to prove — *First*, that the dominant race, which we find established in Hindusthan at the dawn of history was not autochthonous, but immigrated into that country from Central Asia; and *Secondly*, that the route by which this people penetrated was from the north-west through Kabul, and across the Indus. I shall, for the future, assume that both of these two propositions have been substantiated; and shall proceed to trace the history of the Indo-Arian tribes after they had entered the Panjāb, and had commenced their advance to the south and east. We have already discovered (see above, pp. 354, ff.) from an examination of the oldest Indian records, the hymns of the Rig-veda, that the country on both sides of the Indus was the earliest seat of the Indo-Arians in India. We shall now see (as has also been already intimated, pp. 288, 289) that, in these same hymns the ancient bards designated the men of their own tribes by the name of Àryas, and distinguished them expressly from another class of people called Dasyus, who, we have every reason to suppose, were a race of distinct origin from the Aryas, and different from them in colour (see above, p. 284), in language, in religion, and in customs, who had been in occupation of India before it was entered by the Indo-Arians from the north-west. I shall afterwards adduce various passages from the Brāhmaṇas and post-Vedic writings, illustrative of the progress

of the Indo-Arians as they advanced to the east and south, driving the indigenous tribes before them into the hills and forests, and taking possession of the territory which the latter had previously occupied. I shall subsequently furnish some illustrations of the fundamental differences which exist between the Sanskrit and the languages of the south of India — differences which demonstrate that the tribes among which the latter dialects were originally vernacular, must have been of a different race from the Indo-Arians. And finally, I shall indicate the modes in which these various classes of facts support the conclusion to which we have been already led, that the Indo-Arians were not autochthonous in India, but immigrated into that country from the north-west.

SECT. I. — *Distinction drawn between the Aryas and Dasyus in the Rig-veda.*

I proceed, then, first, to show that the authors of the Vedic hymns made a distinction between the members of their own communities, and certain tribes whom they designated as *Dasyus*. This will appear from the following texts. R.-V. i. 51. 8, 9: विजानीह्यार्य्यान् ये च दस्यवो बर्हिष्मते रन्धया शासद् अव्रतान्। शाकी भव यजमानस्य चोदिता विश्वा इत् ता ते सधमादेषु चाकन॥ अनुव्रताय रन्धयन्नपव्रतान् आभूभिरिन्द्रः शश्वयन्नभाभुवः॥ "Distinguish between the Āryyas, and those who are Dasyus: chastising those who observe no sacred rites, subject them to the sacrificer. Be a strong supporter of him who sacrifices. I desire (to celebrate?) all these thy (deeds) at the festivals. Indra subjects the impious to the pious, and destroys the irreligious by the religious."[1] X. 86. 19: अयमेमि विचाकशद् विचिन्वन् दासमार्य्यम्॥ "Here I come" (says Indra) "perceiving and distinguishing the Dāsa and the Āryya."

[1] This text, as well as R.-V. i. 103. 3, given below, is quoted by Professor Müller, "Languages of the Seat of War," first edition, p. 28, note. The word *sadhamāda*, here rendered "festivals," occurs also, R.-V. x. 14. 10.

I. 103. 3: स जातूभर्मा श्रद्धान ओजः पुरो विभिन्दन्नचरद् वि दासीः। विद्वान् वज्रिन् दस्यवे हेतिमस्य आर्य्यं सहो वर्धया द्युम्नमिन्द्र॥ "Armed with the lightning, and trusting in his strength, he (Indra) moved about shattering the cities of the Dasyus. Indra, thunderer, who art wise, hurl thy shaft against the Dasyu, and increase the might and glory of the Āryya." I. 117. 21: युवं वृकेणाश्विना वपन्ता दूषं दुहन्ता मनुषाय दस्रा। अभि दस्युं बकुरेणा धमन्ता उरु ज्योतिश्चक्रथुरार्य्याय॥ "O beautiful Aświns, sowing barley with the plough, drawing forth (*lit.* milking) food for man, and sweeping [or blowing] away the Dasyu with the thunderbolt; ye have created a great light for the Āryya."[2] I. 130. 8: इन्द्रः समत्सु यजमानम् आर्य्यं प्रावद् विश्वेषु शतमूतिराजिषु स्वर्मीळ्हेषु आजिषु। मनवे शासद् अव्रतान् त्वचं कृष्णामरन्धयत्॥ "Indra, who in a hundred ways protects in all battles, in heaven-conferring battles, has preserved in the fray the sacrificing Āryya. Chastising the neglectors of religious rites, he subjected the black skin to Manu" (or the Arian man).[3] III. 34. 8, 9: ससान यः पृथिवीं द्यामुतेमाम्

[2] Sāyaṇa interprets the "great light," either of the glory acquired by the Aświns: स्वकीयं तेजो माहात्म्यं चक्रथुः। or of the sun: विस्तीर्णं सूर्य्याख्यं ज्योतिः॥ "For it is the living man who beholds the sun:" जीवन् हि सूर्य्यं पश्यति॥ Roth considers this verse to refer to some forgotten legend. Nirukta. Erläut. p. 92. The two following passages also similarly speak of light: R.-V. ix. 92. 5: ज्योति र्यद् अह्ने अकृणोद् लोकं प्रावद् मनुं दस्यवे कर् अभीकम्॥ "When he (Soma) gave light to the day and afforded space, he delivered Manu, and arrested the Dasyu." R.-V. x. 43. 4: . . . विदत् स्वर् मनवे ज्योतिरार्य्यम्॥ "He (Indra) gave to Manu blessedness (and) a glorious light."

[3] This passage is translated in a review of the First Part of this work, contained in the "Times" of 12th April, 1858. The "black skin," is there in-

दृन्द्रं मदन्ति अनु धीरणासः॥ ससान अत्याँ उत सूर्यं ससान दृन्द्रः ससान पुरुभोजसं गाम्। हिरण्ययमुत भोगं ससान हत्वी दस्यून् प्र आर्यं वर्णमावत्॥ "The wise gladden Indra, who bestowed the earth and this firmament. Indra gave horses, he gave the sun, he gave the many-nourishing cow, he gave golden wealth. Slaying the Dasyu, he protected the Aryyan colour." IV. 26. 1, 2: अहं मनुरभवं सूर्यश्च अहं कक्षीवाँ ऋषिरस्मि विप्रः। अहं कुत्समार्जुनेयं नि ऋञ्जे अहं कविरुशना पश्यता मा॥१॥ अहं भूमिमददामार्याय अहं वृष्टिं दाशुषे मर्त्याय। अहमपो अनयं वावशाना मम देवासो अनु केतमायन्॥२॥ "I," says Indra, "was Manu, and I the sun; I am the wise ṛishi Kakshivāt. I subdue Kutsa the son of Arjuni. I am the sage Uśanas: behold me. I gave the earth to the Aryya, and rain to the sacrificer. I have led the sounding waters. The gods have followed my will."[4] IV. 30. 18: The

terpreted of the dark colour of the Dasyus. The next passage is also partly quoted in the same article.

[4] Sāyaṇa connects the word *ārya* as an epithet with Manu understood. Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. I. 195, note, thinks that Manu means in this passage, the moon. (In pp. 194, 5, he has a dissertation on the word Manu). The speaker in these verses appears to be Indra. (See Böthl. and Roth's Dictionary, *sub voce*, Uśanas.) The Anukramaṇī, as quoted by Sāyaṇa, says, आद्याभिस्तिसृभिरिन्द्रमिवात्मानम् ऋषिस्तुष्टाव दृन्द्रो वा आत्मानम्॥ "In the first three verses the ṛishi celebrates himself as if under the character of Indra; or Indra celebrates himself." Kuhn (Herabkunft des feuers, p. 143,) conjectures that Vāmadeva may perhaps have been an ancient epithet of Indra. In R.-V. x. 48. 1, Indra says, similarly: अहं दाशुषे विभजामि भोजनम्। "I distribute food to the sacrificer," &c. The pantheistic author of the Vṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad, thinks that the Ṛishi Vāmadeva is speaking of himself in these words, (Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 215, 216): तद् यो यो देवानां प्रत्यबुध्यत स एव तदभवत् तथा ऋषीणां तथा मनु-

Sanskrit text of the following is given above p. 361: "Thou, O Indra, hast speedily slain those two Āryas, Arṇa and Chitraratha, on the opposite bank of the Sarayu" (river). VI. 25. 2, 3: आभि र्विश्वा अभियुजो विषूचीरार्य्याय विशोऽवतारी र्दासीः। इन्द्र जामय उत ये अजामयो अर्वाचीनासो वनुषो युयुज्रे। त्वमेषां विथुरा शवांसि जहि वृष्ण्यानि कृणुहि पराचः॥ "By these (succours) subdue to the Āryya all the hostile Dāsa people everywhere. Indra, whether it be kinsmen or strangers who have approached and injuriously assailed us, do thou destroy their feeble power, and put them to flight." VI. 33. 3: त्वं ताँ इन्द्र उभयाँ अमित्रान् दासा वृत्राणि आर्य्या च शूर। वधीरित्यादि॥ "Do thou, heroic Indra, destroy both these our foes, (our) Dāsa and our Āryya enemies," &c. VI. 60. 6: हतो वृत्राणि आर्य्या हतो दासानि सत्पती। हतो विश्वा अप द्विषः। "Do ye, O lords of the virtuous, slay our Āryya enemies, slay our Dāsa enemies, destroy all those who hate us." VII. 83. 1: दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्य्याणि च सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणाऽवसाऽवतम्॥ "Slay both the Dāsa enemies and the Āryya; protect Sudās with your succour, O Indra and Varuṇa." X. 38. 3: यो नो दास आर्य्यो वा पुरुष्टुत अदेव इन्द्र युधये चिकेतति। अस्माभिष्टे सुषहाः सन्तु शत्रवस्त्वया वयं तान् वनुयाम सङ्गमे॥ "O much lauded Indra, whatever ungodly person, Dāsa or Āryya, designs to fight against us; let these enemies be easily subdued by us. May we destroy them in the conflict." X. 49. 3: अहं शुष्णस्य श्नथिता वधर्यमं न यो ररे आर्य्याय नाम दस्यवे॥ "I, the slayer of Śushṇa, have restrained the bolt,—I

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ष्याणां। तद्ध एतत् पश्यन्नृषि र्वामदेवः प्रतिपेदेऽहं मनुरभवं सूर्य्यश्चेति॥ "Whosoever of gods, ṛishis, or men, understood *That*, he became *That*. Perceiving this, the Ṛishi Vāmadeva obtained this text, 'I was Manu, I the sun, &c." Usanas is connected with Indra in R.-V. vi. 20. 11.

who do not abandon the Aryyan name to the Dasyu." X. 65. 11: ब्रह्म गामश्वं जनयन्त ओषधीर्वनस्पतीन् पृथिवीं पर्वतानपः। सूर्यं दिवि रोहयन्तः सुदानव आर्या व्रता विसृजन्तो ऽधि क्षमि॥ "These bountiful ones" (the gods named in the preceding verse) "have generated prayer, the cow, the horse, plants, trees, the earth, the mountains, the waters;—causing the sun to ascend the sky, and spreading Āryyan rites over the earth."[5] X. 83. 1: साह्याम दासमार्यं त्वया युजा वयं सहस्कृतेन सहसा सहस्वता॥ "May we" (O Manyu), "associated with thee, the mighty one, overcome both Dāsa and Āryya through (thy) effectual energy." X. 102. 3: अन्न यच्छ जिघांसतो वज्रमिन्द्राभिदासतो दासस्य वा मघवन्नार्यस्य वा सनुतो यवया वधम्॥ "Restrain, O Indra, the bolt of the murderous: remove far away the weapon of our assailant, be he Dāsa or Āryya." X. 138. 3: वि सूर्यो मध्येऽमुचद् रथं विदद् दासाय प्रतिमानमार्यः॥ "The sun has launched his car in midheaven: the Āryya has paid back a recompense to the Dasyu." VIII. 24. 27: य ऋक्षाद् अंहसो मुचद् यो वा आर्यात् सप्तसिन्धुषु। वधर्दासस्य तुविनृम्ण नीनमः। "Who delivered [us] from the destroyer, from calamity; who, O powerful [god], didst avert the bolt of the Dāsa from the Ārya in [the land of] the seven streams."

The above cited texts seem to leave no doubt that the Rig-veda recognises a distinction between the tribe to which the authors of the hymns belonged, and a hostile people who observed different rites, and were regarded with contempt and hatred by the superior race. This appears from the constant

[5] Compare R.-V. vii. 99. 4: *Urum yajñāya chakrathur u lokam janayantā sūryam ushasa magnim. Dāsasya chid vṛishaśiprasya māyā jaghnathur narā pṛitanājyeshu:* "Ye, (Indra and Vishṇu,) have provided abundant room for the sacrifice, creating the sun, the dawn, and fire. Ye, O heroes, have destroyed the illusions of the bull-nosed Dāsa."

antithetic juxtaposition of the two names *Áryya* and *Dasyu*, in most of these texts; and from the specification in others of enemies, both Áryya and Dasyu. If *human* enemies are designated in these latter texts by the word *Áryya*, we may reasonably suppose the same class of foes to be commonly denoted by the word *Dasyu*. It is not, of course, to be expected that we should find the Indian commentators confirming this view of the matter more than partially; as they had never dreamt of the modern critical view of the origin of the Áryyas and their relation to the barbarous aboriginal tribes. Yáska (Nirukta vi. 26), explains the term *Áryya*, by the words "son of a [or, of the] lord."[6] The word *Dasyu* is interpreted by him etymologically, thus: "Dasyu comes from the root *das*, to destroy; in him moisture is consumed, and he destroys (religious) ceremonies."[7]

Sáyana interprets the word Áryya, by "wise performers of rites[8];" "wise worshippers[9];" "wise[10];" "one to whom all should resort[11];" "the most excellent race [colour] consisting of the three [highest] castes[12];" "practising ceremonies[13];" "most excellent through performance of ceremonies[14];" and in two places, i. 117. 21, and iv. 26. 2, he regards it as an epithet of Manu. The same commentator interprets the word Dasyu of

[6] Nir. vi. 26: आर्य्य ईश्वरपुत्रः॥

[7] Nir. vii. 23: दस्युर्दस्यतेः क्षयार्थाद् उपदस्यत्यस्मिन् रसा उपदासयति कर्माणि॥

[8] विदुषोऽनुष्ठातॄन्। on R.-V. i. 51. 8.

[9] विद्वांसः स्तोतारः। on i. 103. 3.

[10] विदुषे। on i. 117. 21.

[11] अरणीयं सर्वैर्गन्तव्यम्। on i. 130. 8.

[12] उत्तमं वर्णं त्रैवर्णिकम्। on iii. 34. 9.

[13] कर्मयुक्तानि। on vi. 22. 10.

[14] कर्मानुष्ठातृत्वेन श्रेष्ठानि। on vi. 33. 3.

the "robber Vṛittra[15];" "enemies who destroy the observers of Vedic rites[16];" "the Asuras, Piśāchas, &c., who destroy[17];" "the vexing Asūras[18];" "all the people who destroy religious rites[19];" "Vala and the other Asuras who destroy religious rites[20];" "enemies devoid of religious worship."[21] From these quotations it will be seen that Sāyaṇa mostly understands the Dasyus of superhuman beings, demons, or Titans, rather than of human enemies. In his note on i. 100. 8. he speaks of them as "destroying enemies living on the earth[22];" and in another place he explains the Dāsa *varṇa*, as being either "the Sūdras and other inferior tribes, or the vile destroying Asura."[23]

There is no doubt, that in many passages of the R.-V., to which I shall presently refer, the words *Dasyu* and *Dāsa* are applied to demons of different orders, or goblins (*Asuras, Rākshasas*, &c.); but it is tolerably evident from the nature of the case, that in all, or most of the texts which have been hitherto adduced, we are to understand the barbarous aboriginal tribes of India as intended by these terms. This is yet more clearly established by the sense in which the word Dasyu is used (*i. e.* for men and not for demons) in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, in Manu,

[15] चोरं वृत्रम्। on i. 33. 4.

[16] अनुष्ठातॄणामुपक्षपयितारः शत्रवः। on i. 51. 8; and i. 103. 3.

[17] उपक्षयकारिणमसुरं पिशाचादिकम्। on i. 117. 21.

[18] बाधकानसुरान् on iii. 34. 9.

[19] कर्मणामुपक्षपयित्रीर्विश्याः सर्वा विशः प्रजाः। on vi. 25. 2.

[20] उपक्षपयितॄन् कर्मविरोधिनो बलप्रभृतीनसुरान्। on vi. 33. 3.

[21] कर्महीनाः शत्रवः। on vi. 60. 6.

[22] पृथिव्यां भूमौ वर्त्तमानान् दस्यूनुपक्षपयितॄन् शत्रून्। on i. 100. 8.

[23] दासं वर्णं शूद्रादिकं यद्वा दासमुपक्षपयितारम् अधरं निकृष्टमसुरम्॥

and in the Mahābhārata. Thus the author of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, after making Viśvāmitra say to his fifty sons: "'Your descendants shall possess the extremities [of the land],'" adds, "These are the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas, Mutibas, and other numerous frontier tribes. Most of the Dasyus are descended from Viśvāmitra."[24] And in the authoritative definition already quoted (Part I. p. 178—180) Manu tells us: "Those tribes in the world which are without the pale of the castes sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet [of Brahmā], whether they speak the language of the Mlechhas, or of the Āryyas, are all called *Dasyus*."[25]

The Mahābhārata thus speaks of the same people: ii. 26. 1025: पौरवं युधि निर्जित्य दस्यून् पर्वतवासिनः। गणान् उत्सवसङ्केतान् अजयत् सप्त पाण्डवः॥ "Having vanquished the Paurava in battle, the Pāṇḍava conquered the Utsavasanketas, seven tribes of Dasyus inhabiting the mountains." And again: Ibid. ver. 1031—2: ददान् सह काम्बोजैरजयत् पाकशासनिः। प्रागुत्तरां दिशं ये च वसंत्याश्रित्य दस्यवः। निवसन्ति वने ये च तान् सर्वानजयत् प्रभुः। लोहान् परमकाम्बोजान् ऋषिकानुत्तरानपि॥ "Pākaśāsāni conquered the Daradas, with the Kāmbojas, and the Dasyus who dwell in the north-east region, as well as all the inhabitants of the forest, with the Lohas, the Parama-Kāmbojas, and the northern Ṛishikas". And once more: "Śaineya (Krishṇa's charioteer) made the beautiful earth a mass of mud with the flesh and blood of thousands of Kāmbojas, Śākas, Śāvāras, Kirātas, Varvaras, destroying thy host. The earth was covered with the helmets and shaven and bearded heads of the Dasyus, as with birds bereft of their wings."[26] Here it is evident that the word *Dasyu*, in the latter

[24] Aitareya-brāhmaṇa vii. 18 (already quoted in Part First, p. 84).

[25] See above p. 160.

[26] M.-Bh. Droṇa Parva. Sect. 119, ver. 4747, ff.: already quoted, Part First, p. 179.

part of the sentence, is a generic term denoting the whole of the tribes who had been previously mentioned, the Kāmbojas, Śākas, &c.

Another passage occurs in the Śānti Parva of the M.-Bh. sect. 65, verses 2429, ff., (quoted in the First Part of this work, p. 179), where the tribes there enumerated are said to live after the fashion of the *Dasyus;* and where the duties to be observed by the *Dasyus* are described. The Dasyus therefore cannot have been regarded by the author of the M.-Bh. as demons.

If any further illustration of this point be required, it may be found in the following story (from the Mahābhārāta, Śānti P. sect. 168. verses 6293, ff.) about the sage Gautama living among the Dasyus: भीष्म उवाच। हन्त ते वर्त्तयिष्येऽहमितिहासं पुरातनम्। उदीच्यां दिशि यद् वृत्तं म्लेच्छेषु मनुजाधिप॥ ब्राह्मणो मध्यदेशीयः कश्चिद् वै ब्रह्मवर्जितम्। ग्रामं वृद्धि-युतं वीक्ष्य प्राविशद् भैक्षकांक्षया॥ तत्र दस्युर्धनयुतः सर्व-वर्णविशेषवित्। ब्रह्मण्यः सत्यसन्धश्च दाने च निरतोऽभवत्॥ तस्य क्षयमुपागम्य ततो भिक्षामयाचत . . . गौतमः सन्निकर्षेण दस्युभिः ममतामियात्। तथा तु वसतस्तस्य दस्युग्रामे सुखं तदा। . . . किमिदं कुरुषे मोहाद् विप्रस्वं हि कुलोद्वहः। मध्यदेशप-रिज्ञातो दस्युभावं गतः कथम्॥ Bhishma is the speaker: "I will tell thee an ancient story about what happened in the northern region among the Mlechhas. A certain Brahmán of the central country, perceiving a particular village, which was destitute of Brahmans, to be in a prosperous condition, entered it to solicit alms. There lived there a wealthy Dasyu, who was acquainted with the distinctions of all the castes, religious, truthful, and liberal. Approaching his house, the Brahman asked alms," and a house. . . . . "From proximity with the Dasyus, Gautáma [the Brahman in question] became like them. While he was thus dwelling happily in a village of Dasyus," another Brahman

arrived, who demanded of him: "What is this that thou art foolishly doing? Thou art a Brahman of good family, well-known in the central region: how is it that thou hast sunk into the condition of a Dasyu?"

From the evidence afforded by these passages of Manu and the Mahābhārata, it is probable that the word Dasyu, when occurring in the Veda, is frequently to be understood of *men*, and, consequently, of the wild aboriginal tribes, whom the Arian-Indians encountered on their occupation of Hindusthan. It is true that, by the later authorities whom I have quoted, the Dasyus are regarded as degraded Arians,[27] (though Manu says that some of them spoke Mlechha dialects), and that tribes unquestionably Arian, as the Kāmbojas, (see above, p. 368, ff.) are included among them. But though it is true that some of the Arian tribes who had not adopted Brahmanical institutions were so designated in after times, the term Dasyu could not well have been so applied in the earlier Vedic era. At that time the Brahmanical institutions had not arrived at maturity; and the tribes who are stigmatised by the Vedic poets as persons of a different religion must therefore, probably, have been such as had never before been brought into contact with the Arians, and were in fact, of an origin totally distinct.

It thus appears, that by the Dasyus who are mentioned in the Rig-veda we must, in many passages, though not in all, understand the barbarous aboriginal tribes with whom the Aryyas, on their settlement in the north-west of India, were brought into contact and conflict. Before we proceed further, however, it will be interesting to review some of the other principal texts of the R.-V. in which the Aryyas and Dasyus are mentioned. I should be glad, if, while doing so, I could hope to arrive in each case at a definite result in regard to the application made of the words *Dasyu* and *Dāsa*, and to determine precisely the relations which subsisted between the tribes so designated, and the Aryyas. But

[27] See Lassen, Zeitschrift, ii. 49, ff.

the sense of the texts is often so obscure, that I cannot always expect to fix their interpretation, or, consequently, to deduce from them any certain conclusions. As, however, I have collected and arranged a considerable number of passages bearing on this subject, I think it best to present them to the reader, with such illustrations as I am able to supply, in the hope that a fuller elucidation may sooner or later be supplied by the mature researches of some more competent scholar.

SECT. II. — *Additional Vedic texts bearing on the relations of the Aryas and Dasyus.*

First: In the following passages, or some of them, reference appears to be made to the earth or territory being bestowed on the Aryyas: i. 100. 18: दस्यून् शिम्यूंश्च पुरुहूत एवैर्हत्वा पृथिव्यां शर्वा निवर्हीत्। सनत् क्षेत्रं सखिभिः श्वित्येभिः सनत् सूर्यं सनदपः सुवज्रः॥ "(Indra) the much invoked, having smitten on the earth the Dasyus and Śimyus [or destroyers] by his flying hosts, destroyed them with his thunderbolt. The thunderer bestowed on, [or with] his white friends the fields, bestowed the sun, bestowed the waters."[28]

[28] Several points are obscure in this passage. Is the word Śimyu the name of a tribe, (as Professor Wilson renders it,) or does it merely mean a destroyer? In R.-V., vii. 18. 5, we have the words *śardhantam śimyum*, which Professor Roth (Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 94) renders by "defiant wrong-doer." Sāyaṇa explains the word शमयतॄन् वधकारिणो राक्षसादीन्॥ "Subduers *i. e.* slayers, Rākshasas, &c."; and again: शिम्यून्। शमु उपशमे शमयति सर्वं तिरस्करोति इति राक्षसादिः शिम्युः॥ "The verb *śam* designates one who contemns every one else. *Śimyu* therefore = *Rākshasa*, &c." Then, who are the "white friends" of Indra, in the second clause? The Maruts? or the fair complexioned Aryyas? In verse 2 of this hymn, we find the words *sakhibhiḥ śvebhir èvaiḥ*, "his flying friends," which Sāyaṇa interprets of the Maruts. He

II. 20. 7: स वृत्रहा वृन्द्रः कृष्णयोनीः पुरन्दरो दासीरैरयद् वि। अजनयद् मनवे द्यामपश्चेत्यादि। "Indra, the slayer of Vṛitra, and destroyer of cities, scattered the servile (hosts) of black descent. He created the earth and waters for Manu."[29]

explains verse 18 thus: श्वित्येभिः श्वेतवर्णैरलङ्कारेण दीप्ताङ्गैः सखिभिर्मित्रभूतैर्मरुद्भिः सह त्वेषं शत्रूणां स्वभूतां भूमिं सनत् समभाक्षीत्॥ "Along with his white-coloured, (*i. e.* whose limbs were shining with ornaments,) friends, the Maruts, he divided the territory belonging to his enemies." On the other hand, we have, in verse 6 of this hymn, the worshippers themselves spoken of as the persons with whom the sun was shared. The words there are: अस्माकेभि र्नृभिः सूर्यं सनत्। which Sāyaṇa renders: अस्मदीयै र्नृभिः पुरुषैः सूर्यं सूर्यप्रकाशं सनत् सम्भक्तं करोतु शत्रुपुरुषेषु दृष्टिनिरोधकमन्धकारं संयोजयतु॥ "Let him divide the light of the sun with our men, and involve our enemies in darkness which shall obstruct their view." The same words are rendered by Rosen: *Nostratibus viris solem concedat*, "Let him bestow the sun on our countrymen," where the words in the instrumental case have the sense of the dative assigned to them. If they bear that sense in verse 6, they may equally have it in the 18th also. The meaning would then be, "He bestowed the land, the sun, the waters, on his fair friends." On the last words, Professor Wilson remarks, Rig-veda, i. p. 260, note: "These, according to the scholiast, are the winds, or *Maruts*; but why they should have a share of the enemy's country (*śatrūṇam bhūmim*) seems doubtful. Allusion is more probably intended to earthly friends or worshippers of *Indra*, who were white (*świtnya*) in comparison with the darker tribes of the conquered country." The worshipper's friendship with Indra is mentioned in many passages of the R.-V., as, i. 101. 1; iv. 16. 10; vi. 18. 5; vi. 21. 5 and 8; vi. 45. 7. Rosen renders the passage: *Expugnavit terram sociis suis nitentibus*," "He conquered the earth for, or with, his struggling companions;" thus giving another sense to श्वित्येभिः। In two other hymns, vii. 99. 3, and x. 65. 11, (quoted above p. 377, 378), we find mention made of the sun in a somewhat similar manner, as in the verse under review.

[29] Sāyaṇa explains the words *krishṇayonīḥ*, &c., thus: *krishṇayōnīr nikrishṭajātīr, dāsīr upakshapayatrīr āsurīḥ senāḥ*, "the destructive armies of the Asuras, of degraded rank."

The passages iii. 34. 9, and iv. 26. 2, which have been already quoted above (p. 375, 6), should be again referred to here. VI. 18. 3: त्वं ह नु त्यद् अदमयो दस्यूँरेकः कृष्टीरवनोरार्याय। "Thou" (Indra) "hast alone subdued the Dasyus: thou hast given people to the Āryya."[30] VI. 61. 3: उत क्षितिभ्योऽवनीरविन्दः। "And thou (Sarasvatī) hast obtained lands for men."[31] VII. 19. 3: पौरुकुत्सिं त्रसदस्युमावः क्षेत्रसाता तृत्सहत्येषु पूरुम्। "Thou hast preserved Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, and Pūru, in fights for the acquisition of land." VII. 100. 4: विचक्रमे पृथिवीमेष एतां क्षेत्राय विष्णु र्मनुषे दशस्यन्। "This Vishṇu traversed this earth, to give it for a domain to Manu." It is possible that in these passages, or in some of them, allusion may be made to the occupation of the plains of India, and the subjugation of the aboriginal tribes by the Aryyas, on their immigration from the north-west; but it must be confessed, that the explanation is uncertain. In R.-V. x. 65. 11, quoted above (p. 378), there may be a reference to the spread of Aryan institutions.

Second: In two of the passages already quoted (i. 51. 8, 9; i. 130. 8), the epithets *ăvrăta* and *apavrata*, "devoid of, or opposed to, religious rites," will have been noticed as applied to the Dasyus. I proceed to cite some further passages in which the character and condition of the Dasyus (whoever they may be) are specified.

They are (1.) described as a degraded race: i. 101. 5: इन्द्रो यो दस्यूँरधराँ अवातिरद् मरुत्वन्तं सख्याय हवामहे। "We invoke to be our friend, Indra, attended by the Maruts; who de-

[30] Sāyaṇa explains *kṛishṭīḥ*, "people," by *putradāsādīn*, "children, slaves," &c.

[31] Sāyaṇa explains *avanīḥ*, by *Asurair apahṛitā bhūmīḥ*, "lands taken away by the Asuras." Roth (Dict.) assigns also to the word the sense of "streams;" which it might seem to be the function of Sarasvatī to give rather than lands.

stroyed the base Dasyus."[32] II. 11. 18: धिष्वा शवः शूर येन वृत्रमवाभिनद् दानुमौर्णवाभम्। अपावृणोज्ज्योतिरार्य्याय नि सव्यतः सादि दस्युरिन्द्र। "Maintain, O hero, that strength by which thou hast broken down Vṛittra, Dānu, Aurṇavābha. Thou hast revealed light to the Āryya, and the Dasyu has been set on thy left hand."[33] The text of the following, R.-V. ii. 12. 4, has been already given in p. 284: "He who swept away the low Dāsa colour."[34] IV. 28. 4: विश्वस्मात् सीमधमानिन्द्र दस्यून् विशो दासीरकृणोरप्रशस्ताः। "Indra, thou hast made these Dasyus lower than all, and the servile people without renown." They are described (2.) as having either no religious worship, or rites different from those of the Aryyas. I. 33. 4, 5: अयज्वानः सनकाः प्रेतिमीयुः। परा चित् शीर्षा विवृजुस्त इन्द्र अयज्वानो यज्वभिः स्पर्द्धमानाः। "The unsacrificing Sanakas perished. Contending with the sacrificers, the non-sacrificers fled, O Indra, with averted faces."[35] I. 131. 4: शासस्तमिन्द्र मर्त्यमयज्युमित्यादि। "Thou, O Indra, hast chastised the mortal who sacrifices

[32] Sāyaṇa explains this of making the Asuras vile and slaying them: *Asurān adharān nikṛishṭān kṛitvā*; but the words will also bear the sense I have put upon them.

[33] Sāyaṇa explains the word Dasyu in this verse of the mythical personage Vṛittra. The words *ni* + *sādi*, making together *nishādi*, may have suggested, or have been suggested by, the word *Nishāda*.

[34] Roth (Dict.) gives the sense of "removing, putting away," to *guhā kaḥ*. Sāyaṇa explains it of *hiding in a cavern*. The word *varṇa*, colour, race, which is applied to the Aryyas, iii. 34. 9, is here made use of in speaking of the Dasyus. Sāyaṇa explains the latter, either of the Śūdra caste, or of the Asuras.

[35] Sāyaṇa describes the Sanakas as followers of Vṛittra: *etannāmakā Vṛittrānucharāḥ*. I cannot say who may be meant by the Sanakas here. They may have been heretical *Aryyas* and not *Dasyus*. Sanaka was a mind-born son of Brahmā. Wilson, Vish. Pur. p. 38, note 13. Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 385, note, quotes a text of the M.-Bh. xii. 13,078, where he is mentioned as a sage.

not."[36] I. 132. 4: सुन्वद्भ्यो रन्धया कच्चिदव्रतम् हृणायन्तं चिदव्रतम्। "Subject to those who offer libations the irreligious [man], the wrathful irreligious [man]." IV. 16. 9: नि मायावान् अब्रह्मा दस्युरर्त्तः। "The deceitful, priestless Dasyu has perished." V. 42. 9: अपव्रतान् प्रसवे वावृधानान् ब्रह्मद्विषः सूर्याद् यवयस्व। "Remove from the sun the irreligious, the haters of the priest, [or of sacred rites,] who increase in progeny." VIII. 59. 10, 11: त्वं न इन्द्र ऋतयुस्त्वानिदो नि ष्टम्पसि। मध्ये वसिष्ठ तुविनृम्ण ऊर्वो निं दासं शिश्नथो हथैः॥ अन्यव्रतम् अमानुषम् अयज्वानम् अदेवयुम्। अव स्वः सखा दुधुवीत पर्वतः सुघ्नाय दस्युं पर्वतः॥ "Thou, Indra, lovest our religious rites; thou satiatest those that revile thee; thou, most excellent and vigorous hero, hast smitten the Dāsa in the centre

[36] In i. 100. 15, the word *martṭāḥ*, "men," is opposed to *devāḥ*, "gods." The word *martya*, "mortal," is usually applied to men. But from the following passage of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa it appears that the Asuras also are regarded as mortal, and that the gods too were formerly so. II. 2. 2. 8, ff.: *Devāścha vā Asuraścha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspṛidhire. Te ubhaye eva anātmāna āsuḥ, martyā hyāsuḥ: anātmā hi martyaḥ. Teshu ubhayeshu martyeshu Agnir eva amṛita āsa. Tam ha sma ubhaye amṛitam upajīvanti . . . . Tato devāstanīyāñsa iva pariśiśishire. Te archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ. Uta Asurān sapatnān martyān abhibhavema iti te etad amṛitam agnyādheyam dadṛiśuḥ. Te ha ūchuḥ: hanta idam amṛitam antarātmann ādadhāmahai. Te idam amṛitam antarātmann ādhāya amṛitā bhūtvā astaryyā bhūtvā staryān sapatnān martyān abhibhavishyāma iti.* "The gods and Asuras, both the offspring of Prajāpati, strove together. They were both soul-less, for they were mortal; for he who is soul-less is mortal. While they were both mortal, Agni alone was immortal; and they both derived life from him, the immortal . . . . Then the gods were left as the inferior. They continued to practise devotion and austerity, and (while seeking to) overcome their foes, the mortal Asuras, they beheld this immortal consecrated fire. They then said 'Come let us place this immortal (fire) in our inmost soul. Having done so, and having [thus] become immortal and invincible, we shall overcome our mortal and conquerable enemies.'" The gods accordingly placed the sacred fire in their hearts, and by this means overcame the Asuras.

of his thighs. May our friend Parvata, may Parvata with a vigorous stroke, strike down from heaven [?] the Dasyu who observes different rites, who is inhuman, who does not sacrifice, nor regard the gods."[37] IX. 41. 2: सह्वांसो दस्युमव्रतम्। "Subduing the irreligious Dasyu."[38] X. 22. 7, 8: आ न इन्द्र पृत्सु अस्माकं ब्रह्म उद्यतम्। तत् त्वा याचामहे अवः शूष्णं यद् हन्नमानुषम्॥ अकर्मा दस्युरभि नो अमन्तुरन्यव्रतो अमानुषः। त्वं तस्यामित्रहन् वधर्दासस्य दम्भय॥ "Thou, O Indra, receivest [?] our uplifted prayer. We implore of thee that succour whereby thou didst strike the inhuman Śushṇa. The Dasyu, irreligious, foolish, observing other rites, and inhuman is against us: do thou, O slayer of our foes, subdue the strength of this Dāsa."

Another epithet which is frequently applied to the adversaries of the Vedic bards, or of their deities (whether those adversaries may have been Aryas, Dasyus, or demons), is *Anindra*, "despisers of Indra." It occurs in the following texts: R.-V. i. 133. 1: उभे पुनामि रोदसी ऋतेन द्रुहो दहामि सं महीरनिन्द्राः। "By sacrifice I purify both worlds, I consume the hostile realms which regard not Indra." R.-V. iv. 23. 7: द्रुहं जिघांसन् ध्वरसम् अनिद्रां तेतिक्ते तिग्मा तुवसे अनीका। "Seeking to slay the injurious and destructive [Rākshasī?] who regards not Indra,

[37] The epithets of the Dasyu in the last verse seem to be those of a mortal, though the mention of heaven may seem to point to an aerial foe. In verse 7, of the same hymn a mortal enemy is referred to: *na sīm adeva āpad isham dīrghāyo martyaḥ*: "O long-lived god, let not a godless mortal obtain prosperity." In his comment on R.-V. v. 20. 2: Sāyaṇa explains the word *anyavrata* thus: *vaidikād vibhaktam vratam karma yasya tasya Asurasya*, "the Asura whose rites are different from those of the Veda." See Goldstücker, Dict. *sub voce* "*anyavrata*."

[38] Benfey in a note to his translation of Sama-veda, ii. 243 (p. 251), understands *Dasyum avratam* of Vṛittra, or the Evil Spirit in general.

he makes his sharp weapons sharper for her destruction." R.-V. v. 2. 3: हिरण्यदन्तं शुचिवर्णम् आरात् चेचादपश्यम् आयुधा मिमानं। ददानो अस्मा अमृतं विपृक्कत् किं माम् अनिन्द्राः कृण-वन्ननुक्थाः। "From an adjacent spot, while offering to him an imperishable, widely diffused [? oblation], I beheld [Agni] the golden-toothed, the bright-coloured, fashioning his weapons: what can those who regard not Indra, and recite no hymns, do to me?" R.-V. vii. 18. 16: अर्द्धं वीरस्य शृतपाम् अनिन्द्रं परा शर्धन्तं नुनुदे अभि क्षाम्। "Indra hurled to the ground the half of the struggling heroes, drinkers of the oblation, and disregarders of Indra."[39] In R.-V. x. 27. 6, Indra says: दर्शन् नु अत्र शृतपान् अनिन्द्रान् बाहुक्षदः शरवे पत्यमानान्। घृषुं वा ये निनिदुः सखायम् अधि ऊनु एषु पवयो विवृत्युः। "I behold here those who drink the oblation, and regard not Indra, who are strong of arm, and grasp at the thunderbolt [?]: may the thunderbolts fall on those who revile the energetic friend."[40] In R.-V. x. 48. 7; Indra again speaks: अभीदम् एकमेको अस्मि निष्षाळ् अभी द्वा किमु त्रयः करन्ति। खले न पर्षान् प्रति हन्मि भूरि किं मा निन्दन्ति शत्रवो अनिन्द्राः। "I alone vanquish this one enemy; I vanquish two; what can even three do? [In battle] I destroy numerous foes like sheaves of corn [?] on the threshing-floor. Why do the enemies who regard not Indra revile me?"[41]

The following text speaks of men who are destitute of hymns and priests: x. 105. 8: अव नो वृजिना शिशीहि ऋचा वनेम अनृचः। नाब्रह्मा यज्ञ ऋधग् जोषति ते। "Take away our

[39] See Roth's interpretation of this verse in his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 98, 99. Some at least of the tribes who are here designated as *anindra*, appear from Roth's account to have been of Arian descent. See Ibid., pp. 132–135.

[40] See Benfey's Glossary to S.-V. p. 121, *sub voce* "*pavi*."

[41] See Nirukta, iii. 10, and Roth, Erläuter., p. 29.

calamities. By sacred verses may we overcome those who employ no holy hymns. Thou takest no great pleasure in a sacrifice without a priest [or without prayers]."

As we have seen above, (p. 284,) allusion appears to be made in the Veda (3.) to the distinction of complexion which existed between the Aryas and the aborigines. On this subject I quote the following remarks, made by an able writer, (whom it is not difficult to identify,) in a review of the First Part of this work, which appeared in the "Times" newspaper of 10th and 12th April, 1858. "At the time," he says, "when this name of 'varna' was first used in the sense of caste, there were but two castes, the Aryas and the non-Aryas, the bright and the dark race. This dark race is sometimes called by the poets of the Veda 'the black skin.' Rig-veda, i. 130, 8: 'Indra protected in battle the Aryan worshipper, he subdued the lawless for Manu, he conquered the black skin.'"[42] (This passage has been already quoted, p. 375.)

[42] This phrase "the black skin," occurs also in R.-V. ix. 41. 1, a text which reappears in the Sāma-veda, i. 491, and ii. 242. The words are *Pra ye gāvo na bhūrṇayas tveshā ayāsō akramuḥ, ghnantaḥ kṛishṇām apa tvacham;* which are thus rendered by Professor Benfey: "The flaming, the tempestuous [gods] approach like furious bulls, and chase away the *black skin*." In a note he adds the explanation: "The Maruts (winds) chase the clouds." In his glossary to the S.-V., the same author explains the phrase "black skin," by "night." A similiar expression, *tvacham asiknīm*, occurs in R.-V. ix. 73. 5: *Indradvishṭām apa dhamanti māyayā tvacham asiknīm bhūmanō divas pari.* "By their skill they [I cannot say *who* are here referred to] sweep away from the sky the *black skin* of the earth, hated of Indra." So Benfey translates this line in his glossary, *sub voce* "asiknī." But possibly the words "black skin" should not be construed with the word "earth."

I omitted to state, when R.-V. i. 130. 8. was first quoted in p. 375, that it is ascribed to the Ṛishi Paruchhepa; and that the compositions of this poet are distinguished by the repetition of some of the preceding words at the close of the lines. This peculiarity is thus noticed in the Nirukta, x. 42. *Abhyāse bhūyāñsam artham manyante yathā,* "*aho darśanīya, aho darśanīya.*" *Tat Paruchhepasya śīlam: Paruchhepa ṛishiḥ.* "Some consider that greater force is added to a sentiment by repetition, as in the ex-

Some other passages in which black-coloured enemies are mentioned may also possibly be referable to the dark aborigines; such as R.-V. ii. 20. 7, already quoted (p. 385): "Indra, the slayer of Vṛittra and destroyer of cities, scattered the servile (*dāsīḥ*) [hosts] of *black descent*." But Professor Roth (in his Lexicon), explains this last expression, *kṛishṇayoniḥ*, as well as *kṛishṇagarbhāḥ*, in R.-V. i. 101. 1, as descriptive of the *black clouds*. The latter of these two phrases, is similarly understood by M. Regnier in his Étude sur l'Idiome des Vedas, p. 154. In R.-V. iv. 16. 13, mention is made of 50,000 black beings (explained by the commentator as Rakshasas) being destroyed by Indra. These also, are perhaps to be regarded as aerial foes.[42*] See also Professor Benfey's explanation of R.-V. viii. 85. 15, in his translation of the Sāma-veda, i. 323, p. 228. In the following text allusion is made to black tribes: R.-V. vii. 5. 3: त्वद्भिया विश आयन्निक्रीरसमना जहतीर्भोजनानि। वैश्वानर पूरवे शोशुचानः पुरो यदग्ने दरयन्नदीदेः। "For fear of thee the black tribes fled, scattered, relinquishing their possessions (or food), when thou, Agni Vaiśvānara, gleaming in behalf of Pūru, didst tear and burn the cities." Professor Roth,

pression, 'O beautiful, O beautiful.' This was Paruchhepa's turn of mind. He was a ṛishi." Here Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, speaks of a particular mode of composition as peculiar to Paruchhepa, one of the Vedic ṛishis. But if the form of the composition was the result of the ṛishi's own particular genius (*śīlam*), he must have done more than "see" the hymn (above, p. 205); he must have determined its particular form. The hymn could not therefore have existed eternally, expressed in its present words. Yāska, therefore, appears to be inconsistent with himself, when he states this doctrine in other passages, as x. 10, 46, where he says, *ṛisher dṛishṭārthasya prītir ākhyānasanyuktā:* "Here the ṛishi, after he had beheld the contents [of a hymn], expresses his pleasure in narration." If, indeed, we are to understand by the word *artha*, "contents," that the *matter* of the hymn only, without the *words*, was *revealed*, there will be no inconsistency.

[42*] See, however, Wilson, Trans. of Rig-veda, vol. iii. Introd. pp. viii. ix. xiv. and xv.

however (Dict. *sub voce* "*asiknī*"), explains the words *black tribes*, as meaning "spirits of darkness." A similar phrase occurs in R.-V. viii. 62. 18: पुरं न धृष्णो आरुज कृष्णया बाधितो विशा। "O impetuous [god], break down as it were a city, being harassed by the black race." It is not clear who is the deity here apostrophised; but as it is he, and not his worshipper, who was assailed by dark-coloured enemies, we cannot suppose the latter to have been terrestrial.

There are (4.) some passages in which the epithet *mṛidhravāch* is applied to the speech of the *Dasyus*. If it were certain that the aboriginal tribes were alluded to in all or in any of these texts, and that the adjective in question had reference to any peculiarity in their language, the fact would be one of the highest interest; but unfortunately both points appear to be doubtful. The following are the passages alluded to:—R.-V. i. 174. 2: दनो विश इन्द्र मृध्रवाचः सप्त यत् पुरः शर्म शारदी र्दर्त्। ऋणोरपो अनवद्य अर्णा यूने वृत्रं पुरुकुत्साय रन्धीः। "When thou, O Indra, didst for our welfare [?] destroy the seven autumnal cities, thou didst subdue the people of imperfect utterance. Thou, blameless one, hast impelled the flowing waters: thou hast subjected Vṛittra to the youthful Purukutsa." R.-V. v. 29. 10: प्र अन्यच्चक्रमवृहः सूर्यस्य कुत्साय अन्यद् वरिवो यातवेऽकः। अनासो दस्यून् अमृणो वधेन नि दुर्योणे आवृणङ् मृध्रवाचः। "Thou didst detach one wheel of Sūrya: the other thou gavest to Kutsa, that he might acquire wealth. Thou hast with thy weapon smitten the mouthless [or noseless] Dasyus; in the battle thou hast pierced the imperfect speaking people." V. 32. 8: त्यं चिद् अर्णं मधुपं शयानमसिन्वं वज्रं महि आदद् उग्रः। अपादमत्रं महता वधेन नि दुर्योणे आवृणङ् मृध्रवाचम्। "The fierce [Indra] seized that huge, restless [Vṛittra], the holder of the waters, reclining, insatiable, the overspreading; and destroyed in battle with his great weapon,

that footless, devouring, and imperfectly-speaking [demon]." VII. 6. 3: नि अक्रतून् यथिनो मृध्रवाचः पणेरश्रद्धाँ अवृधाँ अयज्ञान्। प्र प्र तान् दस्यूरग्निर्विवाय पूर्वश्चकारापराँ अयज्यून्। "The senseless, false, imperfectly-speaking, unbelieving, unpraising, unworshipping Paṇis; these Dasyus Agni removed far off. It was he who first made the irreligious degraded."

The word *mṛidhravāch*, which I have rendered "imperfectly-speaking," is explained by Sāyaṇa (in his comments on the last three passages) as meaning "one whose organs of speech are destroyed" (*hinsitavāgindriya*, or *hinsitavachaska*). The same term is rendered by Wilson, in his translation of the second and third passages, by "speech-bereft," or "speechless." Roth, in his "Illustrations of the Nirukta," p. 97, rejects the explanation of Yāska, (who (Nir. vi. 31) renders *mṛidhravāchaḥ* by *mṛiduvāchaḥ*, "softly-speaking,") and considers that it means "speaking injuriously." Dr. Kuhn, again (Herabkunft des feuers, p. 60), is of opinion that the epithet in question means "a stutterer;" and thinks that, in R.-V. v. 29. 10, reference is made to the gradual dying away of the distant thunder, which is regarded as the voice of the vanquished demon. In treating of the aboriginal races of India, Professor Müller (Last Results of Turanian Researches, p. 346) remarks, that "the 'anāsas' enemies, whom Indra killed with his weapon (R.-V. v. 29. 10), are probably meant for noseless (a-nāsas), not, as the commentator supposes, for faceless (an-āsas) people." He must therefore either regard the *Dasyus*, who are here referred to, as human beings, or conceive that the epithets applied to the demons by the Vedic ṛishis were borrowed from the features of the aboriginal tribes. Professor Wilson, on the other hand, remarks (R.-V. vol. iii. p. 276, note): "*anāsa*, Sāyaṇa says, means *āsyarahitān* devoid of, or deprived of, words; *āsya*, face or mouth, being put by metonymy for *śabda*, the sound that comes from the mouth, articulate speech, alluding possibly to the uncultivated dialects of the barbarous tribes, barbarism and uncultivated speech being identical, in the opinion of

the Hindus, as in the familiar term for a barbarian, *mlechha*, which is derived from the root, *mlechh*, to speak rudely;" and adds, in reference to Professor Müller's proposed interpretation of *anāsa:* "The proposal is ingenious, but it seems more likely that Sāyaṇa is right, as we have the *Dasyus* presently called also *mṛidhravāchas*, . . . . having defective organs of speech."

There are only two of the four preceding passages containing the word *mṛidhravāch*, in which the *Dasyus* are named; and in the last of these two texts (R.-V. vii. 6. 3) this word is applied to the Paṇis, the mythical beings who stole the cows of the gods or the Angirases, and hid them in a cave. (See Wilson's R.-V. vol. i. pp. 16, 17, note.) In any case, the sense of the word *mṛidhravāch* is too uncertain to admit of our referring it with confidence to any peculiarity in the speech of the aborigines.

In the R.-V. frequent mention is made (5.) of the cities of the Dasyus, or of the Asuras. One of these passages, i. 103. 3, has been already quoted in p. 375. The following are additional instances:—R.-V. i. 51. 5: त्वं पिप्रो नृमणः प्रारुजः पुरः प्र चर्षणिभ्यानं दस्युहत्येष्वाविथ। "Benevolent to men, thou hast broken the cities of Pipru, and protected Rijiśwan in his battles with the Dasyus." R.-V. i. 63. 7: त्वं ह त्यदिन्द्र सप्त युध्यन् पुरो वज्रिन् पुरुकुत्साय दर्दः। "Thou, O Indra, thunderer, fighting for Purukutsa, didst destroy those seven cities." I. 174. 8: भिनत् पुरो न भिदोऽदेवी र्नमो वधरदेवस्य पीयोः। "He has broken the destroying and godless cities: thou hast bowed down the weapon of the godless destroyer." III. 12. 6: इन्द्राग्नी नवतिं पुरो दासपत्नीरधूनुतम्। साकमेकेन कर्मणा। "Indra and Agni, by one effort together, have shattered ninety cities belonging to the Dasyus." IV. 26. 3: अहं पुरो मन्दसानो व्यैरं नव साकं नवतीः शम्बरस्य। शततमं वेश्यं सर्वताता दिवोदासमतिथिग्वं यदावम्। "Exhilarated, I have destroyed at once the ninety-nine cities of Śam-

bara: the hundredth I gave be to inhabited, when I protected Divodāsa Atithigva at the sacrifice."[43] VI. 61. 4 : त्वं शतान्यव शम्बरस्य पुरो जघन्थाप्रतीनि दस्योः। "Thou hast destroyed hundreds of unequalled cities of the Dasyu Śambara."

Iron cities are spoken of in the following passage: ii. 20. 8: प्रति यदस्य वज्रं बाह्वो र्धु हैत्वी दस्यून् पुर आयसीर्नितारीत्। "When they placed the thunderbolt in his (Indra's) hand, he slew the Dasyus, and overthrew their iron cities."[44]

In the following texts "autumnal cities" are spoken of, i. 131. 4:— विदुष्टे अस्य वीर्यस्य पूरवः पुरो यदिन्द्र शारदीरवातिरः। सासहानो अवातिरः। शासस्मिन्द्र मर्त्यमयज्युं शवसस्पते॥ "Men know this heroism of thine that thou hast overthrown the autumnal cities, violently overthrown them. Lord of power, thou hast chastised the mortal who sacrifices not."[45] See also R.-V. i. 174. 2, which has been quoted in p. 393. VI. 20. 10: सप्त यत् पुरः शर्म शारदी र्दर्द्धन् हन् दासीः पुरुकुत्साय शिक्षन्। "Because thou didst break down the seven autumnal cities with thy thunderbolt, slaying the Dāsa (people), and giving (wealth?) to Purukutsa."[46]

[43] See Kuhn's Herabkunft des feuers, p. 140, and note.

[44] Mention is also made of "iron cities" in the following texts: R.-V. iv. 27. 1; vii. 3. 7; vii. 15. 14; vii. 95. 1; viii. 89. 8; and x. 101. 8; but not in connection with the Dasyus.

[45] Do the "autumnal" cities mean huts of branches and leaves, or of straw, hastily constructed in the rainy season? Or do they mean the brilliant battlemented cloud-castles, which are so often visible in the Indian sky, at the same period of the year? Sāyaṇa *in loco* explains the term thus: *śāradīḥ śamvatsarasambandhinīḥ samvatsaraparyantam prākāra-parikhādibhir dṛiḍhīkṛitāḥ puraḥ śatrūṇām purīḥ.* "The enemies' *annual* cities, fortified for a year with ramparts, ditches, &c."; but see next note.

[46] Sāyaṇa in his note on this verse, explains the word *śāradīḥ* differently, as, *śarannāmnaḥ asurasya sambandhinīḥ.* "Belonging to an Asura called Śarad." Sāyaṇa renders the word *śarma* in this passage by "with thy thunderbolt." In his note on R.-V. i. 174. 2, he had previously rendered it by "for our happiness."

"Ancient" cities are spoken of in ii. 14. 6: यः शतं शम्बरस्य पुरो बिभेदाश्मनेव पूर्वीः। "Who shattered the hundred ancient cities of Śambara, as with a rock," &c. "Eternal" cities are spoken of in the following texts, viii. 17. 13: द्रप्सो भेत्ता पुरां शश्वतीनामिन्द्रो मुनीनां सखा। "The impetuous destroyer of the eternal[47] cities, Indra, is the friend of sages." VIII. 87. 6: त्वं हि शश्वतीनामिन्द्र दर्त्ता पुरामसि। हन्ता दस्यो र्मनोर्वृधः पतिर्दिवः। "Thou, Indra, are the destroyer of the eternal cities, the slayer of the Dasyus, the benefactor of Manu, the lord of the sky."[48] Cities of stone are mentioned in one passage, iv. 30. 20: शतम् अश्मन्मयीनां पुरामिन्द्रो व्यास्यत्। दिवोदासाय दाशुषे। "Indra has thrown down a hundred cities built of stone for his worshipper Divodāsa."[49] In R.-V. viii. 1. 28, mention is made of a "moving" city: त्वं पुरं चरिष्णुं वधैः शुष्णस्य सम्पिणक्। "Thou hast shattered with thy bolts the moving city of Śushṇa."[50]

The cities referred to in these Vedic hymns were, in later times at least, understood of cities of the Asuras; and the following legend was invented to explain what they were. In the Commentary on the Vājasaneyi-Sanhitā of the Yajur-veda, the following passage occurs:— अत्रेयमाख्यायिका अस्ति। देवैः पराजिता असुरास्तपस्तप्त्वा त्रैलोक्ये त्रीणि पुराणि चक्रुर्लोहमयीं भूमौ राजतीमन्तरिक्षे हैमीं दिवि। तदा देवैस्ता दग्धुमुपसदाग्निराराधितस्तत उपसद्देवतारूपोऽग्निर्यदा तासु

[47] *Śaśvat* has, however, according to the Nighaṇṭu, also the sense of "many."

[48] In R.-V. viii. 84. 3, we find the same epithet applied to persons: *Twam hi śaśvatīnam patiḥ rājā viśām asi.* "Thou art the lord, the king of the eternal peoples."

[49] Sāyaṇa interprets *aśmanmayīnām* by *pāshāṇair nirmitānām*, "built of stone," and says they were the cities of Śambára.

[50] It appears as if the moveable cloud-cities were here meant.

पूर्षु प्रविश्य ता ददाह तदा तिस्रः पुरोऽग्नेस्तनवोऽभूवन्। तदभिप्रेत्यायं मंत्रः॥ "On this text [Vaj. Sanh. 5. 8.] the following story is cited:—The Asuras having been vanquished by the gods, performed penance, and built three cities in the universe,—one of iron on the earth, one of silver in the atmosphere, and one of gold in the sky. Then Agni was supplicated by the gods to burn these cities with the *upasad* fire. In consequence, Agni in the form of the *upasad* deity entered these cities, and burned them. Then these cities became the bodies of Agni. It is to this that the Mantra (text) has reference."[51] The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (iii. 4. 4. 3, ff.) has the following passage on the same subject:— देवाश्च वा असुराश्च उभये प्राजापत्याः पस्पृधिरे। ततोऽसुरा एषु लोकेषु पुरश्चक्रिरेऽयस्मयीमस्मिंल्लोके रजतामन्तरिक्षे हरिणीं दिवि। तद् वै देवा असूयन्त। ते एताभिरुपसद्भिरुपासीदन् तद् यदुपासीदंस्तस्माद् उपसदो नाम। ते पुरः प्राभिन्दन् दमान् लोकान् प्राजयन्। तस्मादाऽऽहुरुपसदा पुरं जयन्तीति यदहोपासते तेनेमां मानुषीं पुरं जयन्ति। एताभिर्वै देवा उपसद्भिः पुरः प्राभिन्दन् दमान् लोकान् प्राजयन्नित्यादि। "The gods and Asuras, who were both descended from Prajāpati, contended together. Then the Asuras constructed cities in these worlds, one of iron in this world, one of silver in the atmosphere, and one of gold in the sky. The gods were envious of this. They sat near (*upa-asīdan*) with these *upasads:* and from their thus sitting the name of *upasad* originated. They smote the cities, and conquered these worlds. Hence the saying that men conquer a city with an *upasad.* Because they sit near, they conquer

[51] The reference here is to the text of the V.-S. 5. 8, which contains the words *yā te Agne ayaḥśayā tanūḥ; yā te agne rajaḥśayā tanūḥ; yā te agne hariśayā tanūḥ:* "The body of thine, Agni, which reposes in iron; which reposes in silver; which reposes in gold." The *upasad* was a fire which was kept burning for several days. See Böht. and Roth's Lexicon.

this city of mortals. By these *upasads* the gods smote the cities, and conquered these worlds." (See Weber's Ind. Stud. ii. 310.)

In several texts Dasyus are mentioned in connection with mountains. Thus in R.-V. ii. 12. 11, we have the words यः शम्बरं पर्वतेषु चियन्तं चत्वारिंश्यां शरद्यन्वविन्दत्। "Who discovered Śambara living in the mountains in the fortieth autumn;" and in i. 130. 7, भिनत् पुरो नवतिमिन्द्र पूरवे दिवोदासाय महि दाशुषे नृतो वज्रेण दाशुषे नृतो। अतिथिग्वाय शम्बरं गिरेरुग्रो अवाभरत्। महो धनानि दयमान ओजसा विश्वा धनान्योजसा॥ "Indra, dancing, thou didst shatter by thy bolt ninety-nine cities for Pūru, for the great sacrificer Divōdāsa;—dancing,—for the sacrificer. Fierce, he hurled down Śambara from the mountain for the sake of Atithigva, bestowing great wealth by his power, all wealth by his power." IV. 30. 14: उत दासं कौलितरं शृहतः पर्वतादधि। अवाहन्निन्द्र शम्बरम्। "Thou, Indra, didst cast down the Dāsa Śambara, son of Kulitara, from the great mountain." VI. 26. 5: अव गिरेर्दासं शम्बरं हन् प्रावो दिवोदासम्। "Having hurled down the Dāsa Śambara from the mountain, thou didst preserve Divodāsa."

The wealth or property of the Dasyus or Asuras is spoken of in various places. Thus in i. 33. 4: वधीर्हि दस्युं धनिनं घनेन एकश्चरन्नुप शाकेभिरिन्द्र। "Thou, O Indra, advancing singly, though supported by powerful [allies], hast slain the wealthy Dasyu with thy destructive weapon."[52] I. 176. 4: असुन्वन्तं समं जहि दूणाशं यो न ते मयः। अस्मभ्यमस्य वेदनं दद्धि सूरिश्चि-

[52] Sāyaṇa remarks on this verse: "The Vājasaneyins distinctly record the wealth [of Vṛittra] in these words; '*Vṛittrasyāntaḥ sarve devāḥ sarvāścha vidyāḥ sarvāṇi havīnshi cha āsan:* In Vṛittra were contained all the gods, all the sciences, and all oblations.'"

दोहते। "Kill all those who make no oblations, though difficult to destroy, and who cause thee no gladness; give us their wealth: the worshipper expects it." II. 15. 4: स प्रवोळ्हून् परिगत्या दभीते विश्वमधाग् आयुधमिद्धे अग्नौ। सं गोभिरश्वैरसृजद् रथेभिः। "Encountering those (Asuras) who carried away Dabhīti, he burned all their weapons in the blazing fire, and presented [?] Dabhīti with their cows, horses, and chariots." IV. 30. 13: उत शुष्णस्य धृषुया प्रमृक्षो अभि वेदनम्। पुरो यदस्य सम्पिणक्। "Thou, impetuous god, didst collect the wealth of Śushṇa, when thou didst overthrow his cities." VIII. 40. 6: अपि वृश्च पुराणवद् व्रततेरिव गुष्पितं। ओजो दासस्य दम्भय। वयं तदस्य सम्भृतं वसु द्रुह्वेण विभजेमहि। "Root up, like an ancient tree [?] overgrown by a creeping-plant, subdue the might of the Dāsa; may we share with Indra (or divide by means of Indra) his collected wealth." X. 69. 6.: सम् अज्रा पर्वत्या वसूनि दासा वृत्राणि आर्या जिगेथ। "Thou hast conquered the property, whether situated in the plains or hills, (thou hast conquered) the Dāsa and the Āryya enemies."

In the following and numerous other texts (as well as in some of the preceding), various Dasyus, or at least adversaries, are specified by name, together with the persons who were delivered from them. R.-V. i. 51. 6: त्वं कुत्सं दस्युहत्येष्वाविथ अरन्धयोऽतिथिग्वाय शम्बरम्। महान्तं चिदर्बुदं न्यक्रमीः पदा सनादेव दस्युहत्याय जज्ञिषे। "Thou hast preserved Kutsa in his fights with Śushṇa; hast subdued Śambara to Atithigva; thou hast trodden under foot the great Arbuda; of old hast thou been born to destroy the Dasyus."[53] I. 63. 3: शुष्णं वृजने पृक्षे आणौ यूने कुत्साय द्युमते सचा अहन्। "Thou

[53] This verse is followed almost immediately by the text, i. 51. 8, quoted above, p. 374. "Distinguish between the Aryyas," &c.

hast in the close and deadly fight slain Śushṇa, in aid of the young and brilliant Kutsa." VII. 19. 2: त्वं हि त्यदिन्द्र कुत्समावः शुश्रूषमाणस्तन्वा समर्ये। दासं यत् शुष्णं कुयवं नि बर्हिषा अरन्धयः आर्जुनेयाय शिक्षन्। "Thou art he, O Indra, who didst deliver Kutsa in the fray, interposing with thy body, when, bestowing favour on that son of Arjuni, thou didst subdue to him the Dāsa Śushṇa, and Kuyava."[54] I. 53. 8, 9, 10: त्वं करञ्जमुत पर्णयं वधीस्तेजिष्ठयाऽतिथिग्वस्य वर्त्तनी। त्वं शता वंशृदस्याभिनत् पुरोऽनानुदः परिषूता ऋजिश्वना॥ त्वमेतान् जनराज्ञो द्विर्दश अवन्धुना सुश्रवसा उपजग्मुषः। षष्टिं सहस्रा नवतिं नव श्रुतो नि चक्रेण रथ्या दुष्पदा अवृणक्॥९॥ त्वमाविथ सुश्रवसं तवोतिभिस्तव त्रामभिरिन्द्र तूर्वयाणम्। त्वमस्मै कुत्समतिथिग्वमायुं महे राज्ञे यूने अरन्धनायः॥१०॥ "Thou hast slain Karanja and Parṇaya with the glittering spear of Atithigva. Unyielding, thou hast broken down the hundred cities of Vangṛida, which had been blockaded by Rijiśvan. Thou, renowned Indra, hast with thy swift chariot-wheels, repelled these twenty kings of men, who assailed the unaided Suśravas, [and their] sixty thousand and ninety-nine [followers]. Thou hast by thy aids protected Suśravas, and by thy help Tūrvayāṇa. To this mighty youthful king thou has subjected Kutsa, Atithigva, and Ayu."[55] II. 30. 8: सरस्वति

[54] In R.-V. iv. 26. 1, (quoted above, p. 376,) also, Kutsa is called the son of Arjuni. Kuhn considers that Kutsa is a personification of the lightning, a view which he considers to be confirmed by his patronymic of Arjuni, *Arjuna*, being an epithet of Indra, and of the thunderbolt. See Herabkunft des feuers, pp. 57-62, 65, 140, 176. Kuyava is also mentioned in i. 103. 3: *Kshīreṇa snātaḥ Kuyavasya yoshe, hate te syātām pravaṇe Śiphāyāḥ.* "The two wives of Kuyava bathe with water; may they be drowned in the stream of the Śiphā."

[55] The youthful king alluded to in the last verse, is said by Roth (Dict. under the word "Atithigva") to be Tūrvayāṇa. These names occur again in vi. 18. 13.

त्वमस्मानविड्ढि मरुत्वती धृषती जेषि शत्रून्। त्यं चित् शर्धन्तं तविषीयमाणम् द्रुन्हो हन्ति वृषभं शण्डिकानाम्। "Saraswati, do thou, impetuous, attended by the Maruts, protect us, and conquer our enemies. Indra destroys the chief of the Śāṇḍikas, arrogant, and making a display of his strength."[56] IV. 30. 15: उत दासस्य वर्चिनः सहस्राणि शतावधीः। अधि पञ्च प्रधीँरिव। "Thou hast slain a thousand and five hundred followers of the Dāsa Varchin like fellies of a wheel."[57] IV. 30. 21: अस्रापयद् दभीतये सहस्रा त्रिंशतं हथैः। दासानामिन्द्रो मायया। "Indra, by his wisdom, put to sleep with his weapons thirty thousand Dāsas for Dabhīti." V. 30. 7, 9: अत्र दासस्य नमुचेः शिरो यदवर्त्तयो मनवे गातुमिच्छन्॥७॥ स्त्रियो हि दास आयुधानि चक्रे किं मा करन्नबला अस्य सेनाः। अन्तर्हि अख्यद् उभे अस्य धेने अथोप प्रेद् युधये दस्युमिन्द्रः॥ "When desiring happiness for Manu, thou didst overthrow the head of the Dāsa Namuchi.[58] The Dāsa took his wives for allies in battle. What will his feeble hosts do to me? He concealed his two fair ones; and then Indra went forth to fight with the Dasyu." VIII. 32. 26: अहन् वृत्रमृचीषम और्णवाभमहीशुवं हिमेनाविध्यदर्बुदम्। "Indra slew Vṛittra, Aurṇavābha, Ahiśuva: with frost he pierced Arbuda." VIII. 40. 10: ओजसा शुष्णस्याण्डानि भेदति जेषत् स्वर्वतीरपः। "By his might he crushes

[56] Sāyaṇa says that *Śaṇḍāmarkāv Asurapurohitau:* "Śaṇḍa and Amarka, are the priests of the Asuras." In the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, i. 1. 4. 14, (p. 9, of Weber's edition), Kilāta and Ākuli are declared to be the priests of the Asuras: *Kilātākulī iti ha Asura brahmāv āsatuḥ.* Z. D. M. G. for 1850, p. 302. In Ind. Stud. i. 32, Weber quotes the following words from the Pānchvinśa-brāhmaṇa, 13. 11: *Gaupāvanānām vai satram āsīnānām Kirātākulyāv asuramāye*, &c. "While the Gaupāvanas were seated at a sacrifice, Kirāta and Akuli, &c." See also Ind. Stud. i. p. 186, 195, ii. 243.

[57] See also R.-V. vii. 99. 4.

[58] There is a legend about Indra and the Asura Namuchi in the Śatap. Brāh., v. 4. 1. 8. p. 459.

the eggs of Śushṇa; he conquered the celestial waters." X. 54. 1: **प्रावो देवान् आतिरो दासमोजः प्रजायै क्षत्रे यदग्निः।** "Thou [Indra] hast protected the gods [priests?], thou hast overcome the might of the Dasyus, when thou didst bestow [boons] on this people." X. 73. 7: **त्वं जघन्थ नमुचिं मखस्युं दासं कृष्णः ऋषये विमायम्।** "Thou hast slain Namuchi, desirous of the sacrifice, making the Dāsa devoid of magic for the ṛishi."[59] X. 95. 7: **यत् त्वा पुरूरवो रणाया-वर्धयन् दस्युहत्याय देवाः।** "When, Purūravas, the gods strengthened thee for the conflict with the Dasyus."

I have gone over the names of the Dasyus or Asuras mentioned in the R.-V. with the view of discovering whether any of them could be regarded as of non-Arian or indigenous origin; but I have not observed any that appear to be of this character. But we should recollect that the Arians would not unnaturally designate the aboriginal leaders (if they specified any of them in their sacred hymns) by names of Arian origin, or at least softened into an Arian form. The Greeks introduced Greek modifications into Persian and other proper names, and the Chaldeans gave Chaldean appellations to the Jews.

In some passages the Dasyus are spoken of as monsters. Thus, ii. 14. 4: **य उरणं जघान नव चखांसं नवतिञ्च बाह्वन्। यो अर्बुदमव नीचा बबाधे।** "Who slew Uraṇa, displaying ninety-nine arms; who struck down Arbuda," &c. X. 99. 6: **स इद् दासं तुविरवं पतिर्दन् षडक्षं त्रिशीर्षाणं दमन्यत्। अस्य चितो नु ओजसा वृधानो विपा वराहमयोग्रया हन्।** "This lord humbled and subjugated the roaring Dāsa, with six eyes and three heads.[60] Trita, increasing in strength, struck this boar with his iron-tipped finger." The enemies of Indra are

[59] See Benfey, Gloss. to S.-V. under the word *Namuchi*.

[60] In Ś. P. Br. p. 57, a son of Twashṭṛi with three heads and six eyes is mentioned as having his three heads cut off by Indra.

spoken of in a few passages as scaling the sky: thus, ii. 12. 12: यो रौहिणमस्फुरद् वज्रबाहुर् द्यामारोहन्तं स जनास इन्द्रः। "O men, he who, armed with the thunder, slew Rauhiṇa as he was scaling the heaven, is Indra." VIII. 14. 14: मायाभिरुत्सिसृप्षत इन्द्र द्यामारुरुक्षतः। अव दस्यूँरधूनुथाः। "Thou, Indra, hast hurled down the Dasyus, who, by their magical powers, were mounting upwards, and seeking to scale heaven."[61] In ii. 11. 2, the Dasyus are said to regard themselves as immortal: सृजो महीरिन्द्र या अपिन्वः परिष्ठिता अहिना शूर पूर्वीः। अमर्त्यं चिद् दासं मन्यमानमवाभिनद् उक्थै र्वावृधानः॥ "Thou hast, O heroic Indra, let loose the great primeval waters, which thou augmentedst when they were stopped by Ahi. Gaining vigour by hymns, he shattered the Dāsa, who regarded himself as immortal." In v. 7. 10, the Dasyus are conjoined with men: आदग्ने अपृणतो अत्रिः सासह्याद् दस्यून् दुषः सासह्याद् नॄन्। "Hereupon, O Agni, may Atri overcome the irreligious Dasyus, may he overcome hostile men."

I have thus brought under review in this section a variety of passages which bear, or might be conceived to bear, some reference to the conquest of territory by the Aryas, and to the condition, colour, speech, religious rites and cities of the *Dasyus*. The meaning of many of these texts is, however, as we have seen, extremely doubtful; and some of them are clearly of a mythological import. Such, for instance, are those which describe the contests of Indra with Vṛittra, the demon of the clouds, who withholds rain; where we are, no doubt, to understand both the god and his adversary as personifications of atmospherical phenomena. In the same way, Śambara, Śushṇa, and Namuchi, are to be regarded as mythical personages, of a kindred character with Vṛittra. And yet there are many passages in which the word *vṛittra* has the signification of enemy in general (as R.-V.

[61] In i. 78. 4, the expression *yo dasyūñr ava dhūnushe* recurs.

vi. 33. 3; vi. 60. 6; vii. 83. 1, p. 377); and Professor Spiegel, as we have seen (p. 317), is of opinion that the words *vṛittrahan* and *vṛittraghna* had originally nothing but a general signification, and that it was only at a later period that they came to be epithets of Indra. The word *Śambara*, again, as Benfey (Glossary to Sāma-veda, p. 181) remarks, is given in the Nighaṇṭu as synonymous with *megha*, a cloud (i. 10), with *udaka*, water (i. 12), and with *bala*, force (ii. 9); while the mythical narrations generally identify him with Vṛittra. In regard to this word Professor Roth remarks as follows (Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 116): "In the passages which speak of Divodāsa, mention is made of his deliverance, by the aid of the gods, from the oppressor Śambara, *e. g.*, R.-V. i. 112. 14, ix. 3. 1, 2. It is true that Śambara is employed at a later period to designate an enemy in general, and in particular the enemy of Indra, Vṛittra; but it is not improbable that this may be the transference of the more ancient recollection of a dreaded enemy to the greatest of all enemies, the demon of the clouds."

Professor Müller (Last Results of the Turanian Researches, pp. 344, ff.) remarks as follows on the use of the words Dasyu, Rakshas, Yātudhāna, &c.: "Dasyu simply means enemy; for instance, when Indra is praised because 'he destroyed the Dasyus and protected the Arian colour.'[62] The 'Dasyus,' in the Veda, may mean non-Arian races in many hymns; yet the mere fact of tribes being called the enemies of certain kings or priests can hardly be said to prove their barbarian origin. Vasishṭha himself, the very type of the Arian Brahman, when in feud with Viśvāmitra, is called not only an enemy but a 'Yātudhāna, and other names which in common parlance are only bestowed on barbarian savages and evil spirits." (See the First Part of this work, p. 132, where the original passage, and the trans-

[62] [This passage, iii. 34. 9, appears to me to be, rather, one of those in which the contrast is most strongly drawn between the Aryas and the aborigines. See above, pp. 284, and 387.—J.M.]

lation are given.) "In other passages [of the R.-V.] the word . . . devil *(rakshas)* is clearly applied to barbarous nations. Originally *rakshas* meant strong and powerful, but it soon took the sense of giant and barbarian,[62a] and in this sense it occurs in the Veda, together with Yātudhāna. Another Vaidik epithet applied, as it seems, to wild tribes infesting the seats of the Aryas, is 'anagnitra,' 'they who do not keep the fire.' Thus we read, 'Agni, drive away from us the enemies—tribes who keep no sacred fires came to attack us. Come again to the earth, sacred god, with all the immortals, come to our libation.'[63] The same races are called 'kravyād,' or flesh-eaters. In a famous hymn of Vasishṭha we read: 'Indra and Soma, burn the Rakshas, destroy them, throw them down, ye two Bulls, the people that grow in darkness. Hew down the madmen, suffocate them, kill them, hurl them away, and slay the voracious. Indra and Soma, up together against the cursing demon! may he burn and hiss like an oblation in the fire! Put your everlasting hatred on the villain, who hates the Brahman, who eats flesh, and whose look is abominable.'[64] . . . Kravyād, flesh-eater, means people

[62a] The Rev. Dr. Wilson (India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 20) thinks that the words *Rākshasa*, Piśacha, and Asura, were originally names of tribes; but he adduces no proof of this, and I have found none.

[63] R.-V. i. 189. 3. *Agne tvam asmad yuyodhi amīvā anagnitrā abhyamanta kṛishṭhīḥ | Punar asmabhyam suvitāya Deva kshām viśvebhir amṛitebhir yajatra ||*

[64] [R.-V. vii. 104. 1, 2. *Indrā-Somā tapalam raksha ubjatam ni arpayatam vṛishaṇā tamovṛidhaḥ | Parāśṛinītam achito ni oshatam hatam nudethām ni śiśītam atrinaḥ | Indrā-Somā sam aghaśaṅsam abhyagham tapur yayastu charur agnivān iva | Brahmadvishe kravyāde ghorachakshase dvesho dhattam anavāyam kimīdine |* In a similar strain, Viśvāmitra, the rival of Vasishṭha, says, in R.-V. iii. 30. 15—17, *Indra dṛihya yāmakośā abhūvan yajñāya śiksha grinate sakhibhyaḥ | Durmāyavo durevā martyāso nishangiṇo ripavo hantvāsaḥ | sam ghoshaḥ śriṇve avamair amitrair jahi ni eshu aśanim tapishṭhām | Vṛiścha īm adhastād vi rujā sahasva jahi raksho Maghavan randhayasva | Udvṛiha rakshaḥ sahamūlam Indra vṛiśchā madhyam prati agram śriṇīhi | Ā kīvataḥ salalūkam chakartha brahmadvishe tapushim hetim*

who eat raw meat, . . . and they are also called *āmādas*, . . . or raw-eaters, for the cooking of meat was a distinguishing feature of civilized nations, and frequently invested with a sacrificial character. Agni, who in the Vedas is the type of the sacrifice, and with it of civilisation and social virtues, takes an entirely different character in his capacity of 'kravyād,' or flesh-eater. He is represented under a form as hideous as the beings he is invoked to devour. He sharpens his two iron tusks, puts his enemies into his mouth and swallows them. [R.-V. x. 87. 2, ff.] He heats the edges of his shafts, and sends them into the hearts of the Rakshas. He tears their skin, minces their members, and throws them before the wolves to be eaten by them, or by the shrieking vultures. These Rakshas are themselves called 'achitas,' mad, and 'mūradevās,'[65] worshippers of mad gods. Nay, they are even taunted with eating human flesh, and are called 'asutṛipas,' as enjoying the life of other men. In the Rig-veda we read [x. 87. 16], 'the Yātudhānas who gloat on the bloody flesh of men or horses, and steal the milk of the cow, O

*asya* | "Indra, be strong'; [the Rakshases?] have stopped the road to the sacrifice: bestow favour on thy worshipper and his friends: let our mortal foes, bearing quivers, discharging weapons, and assailing us, be destroyed. A sound has been heard by our nearest foes; hurl upon them thy hottest bolt, cut them up from beneath, shatter them, overpower them; kill and subdue the Rakshas, O Maghavan! Tear up the Rakshas by the roots, Indra, cut him in the midst, destroy him at the extremities. How long dost thou delay? Hurl thy burning shaft against the enemy of the priest." See Roth, Illustr. of Nir., vi. 3, p. 72.—J. M.]

[65] [The far more opprobrious epithet of *śiśnadeva* is applied, apparently to the same class of people, in R.-V. vii. 21. 5; and x. 99. 3. The former of these texts ends thus: *mā śiśnadevā api gur ṛitam ṇaḥ*: "let not the lascivious wretches approach our sacred rite." Yāska (Nir. iv. 19) explains *śiśnadeva* by *abrahmacharyya*; Roth, (Illustrations to Nir., p. 47,) thinks the word is a scornful appellation for priapic, or sensual demons. The last line of the second text (x. 99. 3, apparently spoken of Indra), is as follows: *Anarvā yat śatadurasya vedo ghnan śiśnadevān abhi varpasā bhūt.* "When, smiting the wealth of the [city] with a hundred portals, the irresistible [god] overcame the lascivious wretches."—J. M.]

Agni, cut off their heads with thy fiery sword.' All these epithets seem to apply to hostile, and most likely, aboriginal races, but they are too general to allow us the inference of any ethnological conclusions. The Vaidik ṛishis certainly distinguish between Arian and non-Arian enemies. The gods are praised for destroying enemies, Arian as well as barbarian (*dāsā cha vṛittrā hatam āryāṇi cha*), and we frequently find the expression 'kill our Arian enemies, and the Dāsā enemies; yea, kill all our enemies.' But there is no allusion to any distinct physical features, such as we find in later writers. The only expression that might be interpreted in this way is that of 'suśipra,' as applied to Arian gods. It means 'with a beautiful nose.' As people are fain to transfer the qualities which they are most proud of in themselves to their gods, and as they do not become aware of their own good qualities, except by way of contrast, we might conclude that the beautiful nose of Indra was suggested by the flat noses of the aboriginal races. Tribes with flat, or even no noses at all, are mentioned by Alexander's companions in India, and in the hymns of the Rig-veda, Manu is said to have conquered Vi-śiśipra (Pada-text, viśi-śipra), which may be translated by 'noseless.' The Dāsa, or barbarian, is also called 'vṛishaśipra' in the Veda, which seems to mean 'goat or bull-nosed,' and the 'anāsas,' enemies whom Indra killed with his weapon (R.-V. v. 29. 9, 10), are probably meant for noseless (a-nāsas), not, as the commentator supposes, for faceless (an-āsas) people." (See above, p. 394.)

Professor Müller then proceeds to remark that the physical features of the aboriginal tribes are more distinctly described in the Purāṇas. (See the First Part of this work, p. 62.)

We may perhaps be better able to understand many of the expressions and allusions in the hymns, and the manner in which some particular phrases and epithets are applied, (as it would appear, indiscriminately, to the different classes of beings, human, etherial, or demoniacal,) if we can first of all obtain a clear idea of the position in which the Aryas, on their settle-

ment in India, would find themselves placed in reference to the aboriginal tribes; and if we, secondly, consider that the hymns in which these phrases are recorded, were composed at various dates, ranging over several centuries; that the same words and phrases are perpetually recurring in the different hymns; and that expressions employed in one sense in the earlier hymns may have been transferred, in the compositions of a later date, to a different class of beings. We have further to recollect, that the hymns may not always have been handed down in a complete state, and that portions of different compositions, which had originally a different subject and purpose, may have been erroneously thrown together by compilers in after ages. I shall say a few words on each of these topics.

*First*, then, we may conceive the Aryas advancing from the Indus in a south-easterly direction into a country probably covered with forest, and occupied by savage tribes, who lived in rude huts, and subsisted on the spontaneous products of the woods, or on the produce of the chace, and of fishing; or perhaps by some rude attempts at agriculture. These barbarians were of dark complexion, perhaps also of uncouth appearance, spoke a language fundamentally distinct from that of the Aryas, differed entirely from them in their religious worship, which no doubt would partake of the most degraded fetishism, and (we can easily suppose) regarded with intense hostility the more civilised invaders who were gradually driving them from their ancient fastnesses. The Aryas, meanwhile, as they advanced, and gradually established themselves in the forests, fields, and villages of the aborigines, would not be able all at once to secure their position, but would be exposed to constant reprisals on the part of their enemies, who would "avail themselves of every opportunity to assail them, to carry off their cattle, disturb their rites, and impede their progress."[66] The black complexion, ferocious aspect, barbarous habits, rude speech,

[66] Wilson, R.-V. vol. i. Introd. p. xlii.

and savage yells of the *Dasyus*, and the sudden and furtive attacks which, under cover of the impenetrable woods,[67] and the obscurity of night, they would make on the encampments of the Aryas, might naturally lead the latter to speak of them, in the highly figurative language of an imaginative people in the first stage of civilisation, as ghosts or demons;[68] or even to conceive of their hidden assailants as possessed of magical and superhuman powers, or as headed by devils. The belief in ghosts is not obsolete (as every one knows) even in modern times and among Christian nations. In the case of nocturnal attacks, the return of day would admonish the assailants to withdraw, and would restore the bewildered and harassed Aryas to security; and, therefore, the rising of the sun in the east would be spoken of as it is in one of the Brāhmaṇas, as driving away or destroying the devils.[69] In a similar way the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, speaks, as we shall shortly see, of the barbarian tribes encountered by Rāma in the Dekhan as Rakshasas and monkeys.[70] This state of things might last for some time. The

[67] In the Rig-veda, there is a hymn (x. 146) of six verses, addressed to Araṇyāni the goddess of forests, which we can conceive to have been composed at a period such as that described above, by a ṛishi accustomed to live amidst vast woods, and to the terrors incident to wandering through their solitudes. The first and last stanzas of this hymn are as follows: *Araṇyāni Araṇyāni asau yā preva naśyasi | kathā grāmam na pṛichhasi na tvā bhīr iva vindatīm|.....Añjanagandhim surabhim bahvannām akṛishīvalām | prāham mṛigāṇām mātaram Araṇyānim aśaṅsisham.* "Araṇyāni, Araṇyāni, thou who almost losest thyself, how is it that thou seekest not the hamlet? Doth not fear possess thee?.....I have celebrated Araṇyāni, the unctuous-scented, the fragrant, abounding in food, destitute of tillage, the mother of wild beasts." See Roth, Illustr. of Nir., p. 132.

[68] In R.-V. viii. 18. 13, human enemies are spoken of as acting like Rakshases: *yo naḥ kaśchid ririkshati Rakshastvena martyaḥ svais sa evaiḥ ririshīshṭa:* "May the man who seeks, with Rakshas-like atrocity, to injure us, perish by his own misconduct."

[69] Quoted by Sāyaṇa on R.-V. i. 33. 8. *ādityō hyevodyan purastād rakshānsy apahanti.*

[70] And in our own experience the Chinese speak of Europeans as "foreign devils."

Aryas, after advancing some way, might halt, to occupy, to clear and to cultivate the territory they had acquired; and the aborigines might continue in possession of the adjacent tracts, sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with their invaders. At length the further advance of the Aryas would either drive the Dasyus into the remotest corners of the country, or lead to their partial incorporation with the conquerors as the lowest grade in their community. When this stage was reached, the Aryas would have no longer any occasion to compose prayers to the gods for protection against the aboriginal tribes; but their superstitious dread of the evil spirits, with which the popular mind in all ages has been prone to people the night, would still continue.

*Secondly.* Throughout the whole period, (which we may presume to have extended over several centuries,) during which the state of things just described continued, the composition of the Vedic hymns was proceeding. These hymns were (as we have supposed, pp. 206, 209) preserved by the descendants of the several bards, who, on their part again, were constantly adding to the collection other new compositions of their own. The authors of these new effusions would naturally incorporate in them many thoughts and phrases borrowed from the older hymns which were preserved in their recollection,[71] and which were now, perhaps, beginning to be invested with a certain sanctity. As circumstances changed, the allusions and references in the older hymns might be forgotten; and it might happen that some of the expressions occurring in them would no longer be distinctly understood, and might in this way be applied to circumstances and events to which they had originally no reference. The same thing might also happen by way of accommodation: phrases or epithets referring to one class of enemies might be transferred to another, as Professor Roth supposes to have been the case with the word

[71] Compare Renan's Histoire des langues Sémitiques, 2d ed. p. 120, note 1.

Śambara. When, in fact, we see that hints and allusions in the Vedas have been often developed in the Purâṇas into legends of an entirely different character and tendency; that the functions and attributes of the Vedic gods were quite changed in later ages, and that even in the Brâhmaṇas the true meaning of many of the Vedic texts has been misunderstood, it becomes quite admissible to suppose, that, even in the age when the later hymns were composed, the process of misapplication may have commenced, and that their authors may, in various instances, have employed the words of the earlier hymns in a different manner from that in which they were at first applied. In this way it is conceivable that what was originally said of the dark complexioned, degraded, and savage aborigines, of their cities, and of their conflicts with the Aryas, may have been at a later period transferred to the foul sprites of darkness, to the hostile demons of the clouds, and to the conflicts of the gods with the Asuras and the Daityas. Or it is perhaps a more probable supposition that, in the artless style of early poetry, the earthly enemies of the worshipper were mentioned in the hymns along side of the malicious spirits of darkness, (with whom, as we have just seen p. 409, they might be supposed to have some affinity or alliance,) or the aerial foes of Indra. This conjunction or confusion of different kinds of enemies becomes the more intelligible if the word *Dasyu*, as is supposed by different scholars, originally bore the generic sense of destroyer. It would thus come to be applied to all kinds of enemies, as the mention of one description of foes would naturally suggest a reference to the others, and to the epithets applicable to them. We ourselves apply to the devil the appellation of the foul fiend, a word which means enemy (*feind*) in German; and when employing such prayers as "deliver us from the fear of the enemy," we naturally include all disturbers of our peace outward or inward, physical or ghostly. Epithets like *anyavrata* "observing different rites," *avrata* "without rites," *ayajyu* "not sacrificing," *adeva* "without gods," which were originally applicable only to men, might thus, in the progress of a fantastic mythology, be afterwards transferred to demons.

That this is not merely a presumption, but that the process in question actually took place in India, may be illustrated by the following passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad, p. 585: तस्मादपि अद्येह अददानम् अश्रद्धानम् अयजमानम् आसुरो बतेति। असुराणां ह्येषोपनिषत् प्रेतस्य शरीरं भिक्षया वसनेन अलङ्कारेणेति संस्कुर्वन्त्येतेन ह्यमुं लोकं जेष्यन्तो मन्यन्ते॥ "Hence even at the present day a person who is destitute of liberality and faith, and who does not sacrifice, is contemptuously addressed as one of the Asura race. This is the sacred doctrine of the Asuras: they adorn the bodies of the dead with gifts, with raiment, and jewels, and imagine that by this means they shall attain the world to come." [72]

The following passage of the Śatap. Br. iii. 2. 1. 22 and 23, (p. 235, Weber's ed.), may also serve to show the connection between the aborigines and Asuras: *Te Asurā āttavachaso he alava he alava iti vadantah parābabhūvuh. Tatra etām api vācham ūdur upajijñāsyām, sa mlechhas. Tasmād na brāhmaṇo mlechhed, Asuryā ha eshā vāk.* "The Asuras, impaired in speech, and crying *he alavah* ('O enemies,' incorrectly, instead of *he arayah*) were defeated. Here they spoke this doubtful expression. This is incorrect language [or one who speaks so is a mlechha]. Therefore let no Brahman speak incorrectly; for this is the language of the Asuras." [73]

[72] See Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 271, 2, and note.

[73] In the Brāhmaṇas numerous mythical tales occur of battles between the *Devas* (gods) and *Asuras*, which Weber (Ind. Stud. i. 186, and ii. 243,) thinks are often to be understood of contests between the Arians and the aborigines. This he considers to be proved by the passage about Kilāta (whose name nearly corresponds with that of the Kirātas, an aboriginal race) and Ākuli, priests of the Asuras, quoted above, p. 401. note, from the Ś. P. Br. and by the legend of Rāvaṇa. It may be also worthy of note, that the word *krivi*, when occurring in the R.-V. (as in ii. 17. 6, and elsewhere), though taken by Roth, in his Lexicon, to mean generally a *cloud*, is understood by the Commentator as the name of an Asura; while this same word is stated in the Ś. P. Br. xiii. 5. 4. 7, to be an old name of the Panchālas; *Krivaya iti ha vai purā Panchālān āchakshate.*

SECT. III.—*The Arians on the Sarasvatī, and their diffusion eastward and southward from that point.*

In the preceding sections we have seen that the Aryas on penetrating in Hindusthan from the north-west, and advancing across the Panjāb from the Indus towards the Sarasvatī, found themselves in contact and conflict with a race of people, apparently aboriginal, who are designated in the Vedic hymns by the appellation of Dasyus. We shall shortly find that at a later period, on their southward progress from the Doab towards and across the Vindhya range, the Arians again began to press upon the aborigines and drove them further and further into the Dekhan. We shall also find in the epithets applied in the Rāmāyaṇa to the barbarous tribes of the Dekhan, a confirmation of the opinion that in the hymns of the Rig-veda the same class of people are designated by such terms as Rakshas, &c. Before proceeding with this investigation, however, we must first pause for a moment with the Brahmanical Indians in the holy land on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and then by the aid of some texts from their ancient writers, trace their advance from that point to the eastward, and their diffusion over northern India generally.

We shall now, therefore, suppose that the Aryas, after traversing the country of the five rivers, have arrived on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and have even extended themselves as far as the Jumna and the Ganges. It would appear that the narrow tract called Brahmāvartta between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛishadvatī, alluded to in the classical passage of Manu, ii. 17—24, must have been for a considerable period the seat of some of the most distinguished Indian priests and sages, that there the Brahmanical institutions must have been developed and matured, and perhaps the collection of the Vedic hymns completed and the canon closed. (See above, pp. 301, 345. 348.) It is not easy to account in any other way for the sacred character

attached to this small tract of country.[74] On this subject Lassen remarks as follows (in his Zeitschrift, iii. p. 201):—"The sacredness [of the Sarasvatī] must also rest on historical grounds, and be referred to an age when the contrast had become strongly marked between the inhabitants of inner India, whose institutions were framed according to rigid sacerdotal principles, and the occupants of the Panjāb, by whom such rules were but imperfectly observed. This contrast, however, was not only applicable to the people of the west: towards the south also the country which was regulated by institutions of a strictly Indian character, terminated with the Sarasvatī: the place where that river disappeared was the door of the Nishāda country: and she disappeared in order that she might not come into contact with that impure race."[75] Of the same locality Professor Wilson (Vishṇu-Purāṇa, Preface, p. lxvii.) remarks: "Various adventures of the first princes and most famous sages occur in this

[74] Some texts of the Veda relating to the Sarasvatī have been quoted above, pp. 359, 360. Weber (Ind. Stud. ii. 311) quotes two passages from the Śānkhāyana and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas, about the ṛishis holding a sacrifice on the banks of this river. The commencement of the legend in the Ait. Br., ii. 19, is as follows: *Ṛishayo vai Sarasvatyām satram āsata, te Kavasham Ailūsham somād anayan: dāsyaḥ putraḥ kitavo brāhmaṇaḥ katham no madhye dīkshishṭeti*, &c.: "The ṛishis attended at a sacrifice on the [banks of] the Sarasvatī. They removed Kavasha Ailūsha from the soma, saying 'Thou art the son of a bondmaid, a spurious Brahman, how hast thou joined with us in the sacred rite?'" They were however at length compelled to admit him to their fellowship. In the M.-Bh. iii. 5074, quoted by Lassen (Zeitschr., iii. 200), it is said: *Dakshiṇena Sarasvatyā Dṛishadvatyuttareṇa cha, ye vasanti Kurukshetre te vasanti tridivālaye*: "Those who dwell in Kurukshetra south of the Sarasvatī, and north of the Dṛishadvatī, dwell in heaven." See also Part First of this work, pp. 203, 204.

[75] M.-Bh. iii. 10,538. *Etad Vinaśanam nāma Sarasvatyā viśāmpate: dvāram Nishādarāshṭrasya yeshām doshāt Sarasvatī, Pravishṭā pṛithivīm vīra mā Nishādā hi mām viduḥ*. "This is the place called the *Vinaśana* (disappearance) of the Sarasvatī, the gate of the country of the Nishādas, to whose impurity it was due that the Sarasvatī sank into the earth, lest, [as she said,] the Nishādas should become acquainted with her."

vicinity; and the Āsramas, or religious domiciles, of several of the latter are placed on the banks of the Sarasvatī. According to some authorities, it was the abode of Vyāsa, the compiler of the Vedas and Purāṇas; and agreeably to another, when on one occasion the Vedas had fallen into disuse, and been forgotten, the Brahmans were again instructed in them by Sārasvata, the son of Sarasvatī.[76] One of the most distinguished of the tribes of the Brahmans is known as the Sārasvata. . . . . The river itself receives its appellation from Sarasvatī the goddess of learning, under whose auspices the sacred literature of the Hindus assumed shape and authority." [May we not with as much probability suppose the converse to have been the case, and that the goddess derived her name from the river on whose banks she may be said to have been born?] "These indications render it certain that, whatever seeds were imported from without, it was in the country adjacent to the Sarasvatī river that they were first planted and cultivated and reared in Hindusthan." See also Lassen, Zeitschrift, iii. p. 202.

The high degree of sanctity ascribed by the Indians, at the close of the Vedic era, to the country between the Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī, is further proved by the following passage of Manu, already repeatedly referred to:

Manu, ii. 17—24: सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्यदन्तरम्। तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्त्तं प्रचक्षते॥ तस्मिन् देशे य आचारः

[76] An abstract of the legend here referred to is given by Professor Wilson, at p. 288 of his work, note 9. The passage occurs in the ix[th] or Śalya Parva of the M.-Bh. verse 2960. A twelve years' drought occurred during which the great ṛishis travelled hither and thither in search of food, and thus lost the Vedas (*teshām kshudā parītānām nashṭā vedā 'bhidhāvatām.*) The Muni Sārasvata was about to depart also, but was dissuaded by the Sarasvatī; *na gantavyam itah putra tavāhāram aham sadā | dāsyāmi matsya-pravarān ushyatām iha Bhārata:* "Go not hence, my son: I will give thee excellent fish for food." He accordingly remained, "preserving his life and the Vedas," (*prāṇān vedāṅścha dhārayan*); and communicated the Vedas again to the other ṛishis at their desire.

पारम्पर्य्यक्रमागतः। वर्णानां सान्तरालानां स सदाचार उच्यते॥ कुरुक्षेत्रञ्च मत्स्याश्च पञ्चालाः शूरसेनकाः। एष ब्रह्मर्षिदेशो वै ब्रह्मावर्त्तादनन्तरः॥ एतद्देशप्रसूतस्य सकाशाद् अग्रजन्मनः। स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवाः॥ हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोर्मध्यं यत् प्राग् विनशनादपि। प्रत्यगेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्त्तितः॥ आसमुद्रात्तु वै पूर्वाद् आसमुद्रात्तु पश्चिमात्। तयोरेवान्तरं गिर्य्योरार्य्यावर्त्तं विदुर्बुधाः॥ कृष्णसारस्तु चरति मृगो यत्र स्वभावतः। स ज्ञेयो यज्ञियो देशो म्लेच्छदेशस्ततः परः॥ एतान् द्विजातयो देशान् संश्रयेरन् प्रयत्नतः। शूद्रस्तु यस्मिन् कस्मिन् वा निवसेद् वृत्तिकर्षितः॥ "The tract, fashioned by the gods, which lies between the two divine rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati, is called Brahmāvartta. The usage relating to castes and mixed castes which has been traditionally received in that country, is called the pure usage. The country of Kurukshetra, and of the Matsyas, Panchālas and Śūrasenas, which adjoins Brahmāvartta, is the land of brahmarshis (divine rishis). From a Brahman born in that region let all men upon earth learn their respective duties. The tract situated between the Himavat and the Vindhya ranges to the east of Vinaśana, and to the west of Prayāga, is known as the Madhyadeśa (central region). The wise know as Āryāvartta the country which lies between the same two ranges, and extends from the eastern to the western ocean. The land where the black antelope naturally grazes is to be regarded as the proper region of sacrifice; beyond that limit lies the country of the Mlechhas. Let twice-born men be careful to remain within these (specified) countries. But a Śūdra may dwell anywhere, when compelled to seek subsistence."

From this passage it appears that at the period in question the Brahmans had not ordinarily penetrated to the south of the Vindhya range, though adventurers might have visited, or

hermits might have settled, in those regions. And even to the north of the Vindhya we find the country distributed into several tracts more or less holy, according to their distance from the hallowed spot in the north lying on the banks of the Sarasvatī. First, then, we have this small region itself, Brahmāvartta. This name may signify (1.) either the region of Brahmā, the creator, in which case it may have been regarded as in some peculiar sense the abode of this god, and possibly the scene of the creation; or (2.) the region of devotion or the Vedas (*brahma*), and then it will rather denote the country which was sanctified by the performance of holy rites, and the study of sacred literature. Next in order we have the land of the Brahmarshis, comprising Kurukshetra (the country west of the Jumna and stretching from the Sarasvatī on the north towards Vrindāvana and Mathurā),[77] with the country of the Matsyas, Panchālas and Śūrasenas. The Panchālas are said by Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, the commentator on Manu, to have occupied the country about Kānyakubja or Kanauj; and the Śūrasenas to have lived in the neighbourhood of Mathurā.[78] The third tract called Madhyadeśa, embraces a wider area, and stretches, north and south, from the Himālaya to the Vindhya range, and north-west and south-east, from Vinaśana where the Sarasvatī disappeared in the desert (see above, p. 415) to Prayāga or Allahabad. The fourth region, *Āryāvartta*, or the abode of the Aryas, is yet more extensive than the last, and extends within the same limits of latitude, from the sea at the mouth of the Indus to the bay of Bengal (the eastern and western oceans).

The manner in which these several countries are here successively introduced seems to intimate that the Aryas proceeded gradually from the banks of the Sarasvatī (where, as we have supposed, they had established themselves after traversing the Panjāb,) towards the east and south; and that the countries

[77] See the map of ancient India, in Lassen, Ind. Ant. vol. ii.

[78] *Panchālāḥ Kānyakubjadeśāḥ Śūrasenakā Mathurādeśāḥ.*

farthest to the south and east, as well as to the south-west, of the Sarasvatī were those with which they had become last acquainted, and were least familiar. Another proof that the Arians had not yet penetrated to the south of the Vindhya, or thoroughly occupied the eastern provinces of northern India, at the time to which we refer, may be found in Manu, x. 43, 44 (see Part First of this work, pp. 177 and 182), where we are told that the Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras and Draviḍas who had formerly been Kshatriyas, had from neglect of religious rites and the absence of Brahmans, sunk to the state of Vṛishalas, or Śūdras. From this it is clear that some at least of the people of those countries, *i. e.* of the inhabitants of Bengal proper and of northern Orissa, as well as those of the Coromandel coast,[79] were then living without Brahmanical institutions; and consequently that the Brahmans had not yet taken complete possession of all those provinces; though, if the definition above given by Manu of the word *Āryāvartta* may be relied on as proof, the Aryas must have carried their conquests as far eastward as the eastern ocean, or Bay of Bengal.

In the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa we find the following remarkable legend, to which attention was first drawn by Weber (in his Ind. Stud., i. 170, ff.), regarding the advance of the Brahmans, and the spread of their religious rites in an easterly direction from the banks of the Sarasvatī (Ś.-P.-Br., i. 4. 1. 10, ff.):—

विदेघो ह माथवोऽग्निं वैश्वानरं मुखे बभार तꣳ ह स्म गोतमो राह्वगण ऋषिः पुरोहित आस तꣳ ह स्मामन्त्र्यमाणो न प्रतिशृणोति नेन्मेऽग्नि र्वैश्वानरो मुखान्निर्धक्षद्यता इति तमृग्भिर्ह्वयितुं दध्रे। वीतिहोत्रं त्वा कवे द्युमन्तं समिधीमहि। अग्ने बृहन्तमध्वरे विदेघेति। स न प्रतिशुश्राव। उदग्ने शुचयस्तव शुक्रा भ्राजन्त ईरते। तव ज्योतींष्यर्चयो विदेघा इति। स ह नैव प्रतिशुश्राव। तं त्वा घृतस्नवीमह इत्येवाभिव्याहरदथास्य

[79] See Wilson's Vishṇu-Purāṇa, pp. 190, 192, and notes.

घृतकौर्त्तावेवाग्निं वैश्वानरो मुखादुज्जज्वाल तं न शशाक धारयितुं सोऽस्य मुखान्निष्पेदे स इमां पृथिवीं प्रापादः। तर्हि विदेघो माथव आस सरस्वत्यां। स तत एव प्राङ् दहन्नभीयायेमां पृथिवीम्। तं गोतमश्च राहूगणो विदेघश्च माथवो पश्चाद् दहन्तमन्वीयतुः। स इमाः सर्वा नदीरतिददाह। सदानीरेत्युत्तराद् गिरेर्निर्धावति तां हैव नातिददाह। तां ह स्म तां पुरा ब्राह्मणा न तरन्ति अनतिदग्धा अग्निना वैश्वानरेणेति। तत एतर्हि प्राचीनं बहवो ब्राह्मणाः। तद् ह अचेत्रतरमिवास स्रावितरमिव अखदितमग्निना वैश्वानरेणेति॥ तदु हैतर्हि चेत्रतरमिव ब्राह्मण उ हि नूनमेनद् यज्ञैरभिष्यदन्। सापि जघन्ये नैदाघे समिवैव कोपयति तावत् शीताऽनतिदग्धा ह्यग्निना वैश्वानरेण॥ स होवाच विदेघो माथवः क्वाहं भवानि इति। अत एव ते प्राचीनं भुवनमिति होवाच। सैषापि एतर्हि कोशलविदेहानां मर्यादा ते हि माथवाः॥

"Māthava the Videgha[80] bore Agni Vaiśvānara in his mouth. The Ṛishi Gotama Rahūgaṇa[81] was his priest (*purohita*). Though addressed by him he (Māthava) did not answer, 'lest (he said) Agni (Fire) should escape from my mouth.' The priest began to invoke Agni with verses of the Rik; 'We kindle thee at the sacrifice, O wise Agni, the sacrificer, the luminous, the mighty, O Videgha.' (R.-V. v. 26. 3.) He made no answer. [The priest then repeated,] 'Thy bright, brilliant, flaming beams and rays mount upwards, O Agni, O Videgha' (R.-V. viii. 44. 16). [Still] he made no reply. [The priest then recited:] 'Thee, O dropper of butter, we invoke,' &c. (R.-V. v. 26. 2). So far he uttered; when immediately on the mention of butter (*ghṛita*), Agni Vaiśvānara flashed forth from his mouth: he

[80] Afterwards *prakritized* to Videha?

[81] See R.-V. i. 78. 5.

could not restrain him, so he issued from his mouth, and fell down to this earth. The Videgha Māthava was then on [or in] the Sarasvatī. [Agni] then traversed this earth, burning towards the east. Gotama Rāhūgaṇa and the Videgha Māthava followed after him as he burned onward. He burnt across all these rivers; but he did not burn across the Sadānīrā, which descends from the northern mountain [the Himālaya]. The Brahmans formerly did not use to cross this river, because it had not been burnt across by Agni Vaiśvānara. But now many Brahmans [live] to the east of it. It used to be uninhabitable, and swampy, being untasted by Agni Vaiśvānara. It is now, however, habitable; for Brahmans have caused it to be tasted by sacrifices. In the end of summer this river is, as it were, incensed, being still cold, not having been burnt across by Agni Vaiśvānara. The Videgha Māthava spake: 'Where shall I abide?' [Agni] replied, 'Thy abode [shall be] to the east of this (river).' This stream is even now the boundary of the Kośalas and Videhas; for they are the descendants of Māthava."

In this passage the gradual advance of the Aryas, with their Brahmanical worship, from the banks of the Sarasvatī eastward to those of the Sadānīrā, and afterwards beyond that stream, is, as I have said, distinctly indicated. At the time when the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa was composed the Brahmans had already (as Weber remarks) dwelt for a long time, in the country beyond the Sadānīrā, and it had then become a principal seat of the Brahmanical religion; as Janaka, the king of Videha, appears in that work with the title of *samrāṭ*, or emperor. Thus (Śatap.-Br. xi. 3. 1. 2.) we have the following notice: "Janaka the Vaideha put this question to Yājnavalkya. 'Dost thou, O Yājnavalkya, know the *Agnihotra* sacrifice?' 'O monarch,' he replied, 'I know it.'"[82] Professor Weber makes the following remarks

[82] Ś. P. Br. p. 846: *Tad ha etaj Janako Vaideho Yājñavalkyam paprachha vettha ahnihotram Yājñavalkyā iti veda samrāḍ iti.* See also Ś. P. Br. xi. 6. 2. 1, p. 872, where Janaka is addressed by the Brahmans by the same title.

on the legend I have just quoted: "Under the name of Agni Vaiśvānara (*the Fire which burns for all men*) the sacrificial worship of the Brahmans appears to be intended. The part which in the legend the priest plays in reference to the king, is mysterious; but I understand it to mean that he compelled him to propagate the Arian worship towards the east. The Sadānirā presents an obstacle, not from its magnitude or the difficulty of crossing it (which the Ganges and Jumna must have previously done in a greater degree), but from the inhospitable character of the territory beyond; for the word *srāvitaram*, 'somewhat flowing,' designates the nature of the tract as an inundated swamp.[83] Even after Videgha Māthava had advanced across the river, the Brahmans (as the Arians are here called) appear to have remained for a long time on its western bank, and to have only crossed in greater numbers after the king with his people had cultivated the country; until, in the time of the Śatap.-Br., it had attained such a flourishing condition, that the tradition of its oceanic origin was only indistinctly preserved." Ind. Stud. i. pp. 178, 179.

In the Vocabularies of Amara Sinha, i. 2. 3. 33, and Hemachandra, 4. 150, Sadānirā is given as a synonym of Karatoyā, a river in the north of Bengal Proper. But as the Sadānirā is in this passage described as forming the boundary between the Kośalas and Videhas, or the countries of Oudh and North Behar, it seems that the river at present called the Gandak must be meant.—Weber, as above, p. 181.

Lassen (Zeitschrift for 1839, p. 22), quotes, for another purpose, the following passage from the M.-Bh., in which the name of the Sadānirā occurs; but it throws little light on its position. "Departing from the Kurus (from Indraprastha) they passed

[83] In illustration of this a line of the M.-Bh. ii. 1078, is referred to by Weber, which states that Bhīmasena, in the course of his conquest of the eastern country came to the territory bordering on the Himavat, which was of aqueous origin: *tato Himavataḥ pārśvam samabhyetya jalodbhavam.*

through the middle of Kurujāngala, and came to the lovely Padma lake. Then passing Kālakūṭa, they crossed successively on one mountain (or in Ekaparvataka?) the rivers Gandakī, Mahāśōna, and Sadānirā. Having then crossed the beautiful Sarayū, and seen the eastern Kośalā, they crossed the river Mālā Charmanvatī, and came to Mithilā."[84] In this passage (if any order has been preserved) it will be noticed that the Sadānirā is placed between the Gandakī and the Sarayū, and so to the west of the latter river. Its position does not, therefore, seem to be well defined in the ancient Indian authorities. This, however, is of little consequence for our present purpose, as any uncertainty in regard to the precise locality of the river does not obscure the plain and express purport of the legend, viz., that the Brahmans with their worship advanced from the Sarasvatī eastward to Behar and Bengal.

SECT. IV.—*Advance of the Arians from the Doab across the Vindhya Mountains; and their conflicts with the aboriginal tribes of the Dekham.*

It is not essential for the object which I have in view to attempt to trace with any precision the different stages in the progress of the Aryas to the east and south, which a review and comparison of the data supplied by the Brāhmaṇas, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata may enable the careful investigator to determine, and to refer to particular periods.

As it is only necessary for my argument to prove that they *did* advance from the north-west to the east and to the south, and that in so doing they came into contact with aboriginal races who had been in previous occupation of the country, it will suffice for this purpose if (after the foregoing notice of their progress to the eastward) I now pass on to that great southward movement,

[84] M.-Bh. ii. 793. *Kurubhyaḥ prasthitās te tu madhyena Kurujāngalam | Ramyam Padmasaro gatvā Kālakūṭam atītyacha | Gaṇḍakīñcha Muhāśoṇam Sadānīrām tathaiva cha | Ekaparvatake nadyaḥ krameṇaityāvrajanta te | Uttīrya Sarayūm ramyām dṛishṭvā pūrvāñcha Kośalām | Atītya jagmur Mithilām Mālām Charmanvatīm nadīm ||*

of which we can discern the indistinct outlines in the poetic and hyperbolical narrative of the Rāmāyana.

"The Rāmāyana," remarks Professor Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 534), "in the action of the poem, designates, for the most part, only the north of Hindusthan as Arian. It represents Mithilā and Anga in the east as Arian countries; and regards the Kekayas in the west, though dwelling beyond the Sarasvati, as a pure Arian race; and to this tribe one of the wives of king Daśaratha belongs. Among the persons who were to be invited to the sacrifice of that monarch are the following:" Rāmāyana, (Schlegel) i. 12. 20, ff., मिथिलाधिपतिं शूरं जनकं दृढविक्रमम्। निष्ठितं सर्वशास्त्रेषु तथा वेदेषु निष्ठितम्॥ . . . तथा केकयराजानं वृद्धं परमधार्मिकम्। श्वशुरं राजसिंहस्य सपुत्रं त्वमिहानय॥ अङ्गेश्वरञ्च राजानां लोमपादं सुसत्कृतम्। सुव्रतं देवसंकाशं स्वयमेवानयस्व ह॥ प्राच्यांश्च सिन्धुसौवीरान् सौराष्ट्रेयांश्च पार्थिवान्। दाक्षिणात्यान् नरेन्द्रांश्च सर्वानानय मा चिरम्॥ "[Bring] Janaka, the heroic king of Mithilā, of stubborn valour, versed in all the Śāstras, and in the Vedas. . . . Bring also the aged and very religious king of the Kekayas, the father-in-law of the lion-like king, together with his son; and Lomapāda, the devout and god-like king of the Angas, paying him all honour. And bring speedily all the eastern, the Sindhusauvira, the Surāshṭra, and the southern monarchs."

The word "southern kings" may, Lassen says, be employed here in a restricted sense, for from other parts of the poem it appears that the country to the south of the Vindhya was still unoccupied by the Aryas. Even the banks of the Ganges are represented as occupied by a savage race, the Nishādas. Thus Rām. ii. 50. 18, ff. (Schlegel's edition) (ii. 47. 9, ff. in Gorresio's edition): तत्र राजा गुहो नाम रामस्यात्ममतः सखा। निषादजात्यो बलवान् स्थपतिश्चेति विश्रुतः॥

स श्रुत्वा पुरुषव्याघ्रं रामं विषयमागतम्। वृद्धैः परिवृतोऽमात्यै ज्ञातिभिश्चाप्युपागमत्॥ "There [there was] a king called Guha of the race of the Nishādas, an intimate friend of Rāma, and renowned as a powerful chief. He, hearing that the eminent Rāma had come to his country, approached him attended by his aged ministers and relations." This chieftain provided a boat to ferry Rāma with his wife and brother across the Ganges (Rām. ii. 52, vv. 4—7 and 71, ff.): and afterwards attended on his other brother, Bharata, when he also passed the same way. (Rām. ii. 83. 20, and 84. 1, 10, &c., &c.)

In the same poetical narrative, the Dandaka forest is represented as beginning immediately to the south of the Jumna. The whole country from this point to the Godāvarī is described as a wilderness, over which separate hermitages are scattered,[85] while wild beasts and Rākshasas everywhere abound. "The Rāmāyana," says Lassen (i. p. 535), "contains the narrative of the first attempt of the Arians to extend themselves to the south by conquest; but it presupposes the peaceable extension of Brahmanical missions in the same direction, as having taken place still earlier. Rāma, when he arrives on the south of the Vindhya range, finds there the sage Agastya, by whom the southern regions had been rendered safe and accessible. Agastya appears as the adviser and guide of Rāma, and as the head of the hermits settled in the south. In this legend we cannot but recognise the recollection that the south was originally a vast forest, which was first brought into cultivation by Brahmanical missions. The Rākshasas who are represented as disturbing the sacrifices and devouring the priests, signify here, as often elsewhere, merely the

[85] Rām. iii. 6. 1. (Gorresio): *Pravišan sa mahāraṇyam Daṇḍakāraṇyam uttamam | Dadārśa Rāmo durdharsham tāpasāśrama-mandalam |* Rāma alludes to the vastness of the forest, iii. 15. 33: *Na tu jānāmi tam deśam vanasyāsya mahattayā | Yatrāśrama-padam puṇyam maharshes tasya dhimataḥ |* "From the vastness of the forest, I cannot discover the spot where the sacred hermitage of the great and wise ṛishi exists.

savage tribes which placed themselves in hostile opposition to the Brahmanical institutions. The only other actors who appear in the legend in addition to these inhabitants, are the monkeys, which ally themselves to Rāma, and render him assistance. This can only mean that when the Arian Kshatriyas first made hostile incursions into the south, they were aided by another portion of the indigenous tribes. Rāma reinstates in possession of his ancestral kingdom a monkey-king who had been expelled, and in return receives his assistance."

The following are some of the passages of the Rāmāyana in which the proceedings of the Rakshasas are described. The idea of the monstrous characteristics which are assigned to these gigantic demons may very well have been borrowed from the barbarous tribes whom the Brahmanical anchorites found in occupation of the forests, and from whom they would no doubt suffer continual molestation and cruelty. These savages with whom as we have already seen, p. 409, ff., the Arian Indians had been familiar in the regions further north, had, even in the Vedic era, been magnified into demons and giants by the poetical and superstitious imaginations of their early bards. The hermits in the neighbourhood of Chitrakūṭa, thus represented to Rāma the sufferings to which they were exposed; Rām. iii. 1. 15, ff:

रक्षांसि पुरुषादानि नानारूपाणि राघव। वसन्त्यस्मिन् महारण्ये व्यालाश्च रुधिराशनाः। उत्साद्य तापसान् सर्वान् जनस्थाननिवासिनः। घ्नन्ति चास्मिन् महारण्ये तान् निवारय राघव॥ . . . दर्शयन्त्यतिबीभत्सं क्रूरैर्भीषणकैरपि। नानारूपैर्विरूपास्ते रूक्षैरशुभदर्शनाः॥ उपचारैरशुचिभिः संप्रयुज्य च तापसान्। दर्शयन्ति परां हिंसामनार्याः पुरुषर्षभ॥ गृहनेष्वाश्रमान्तेषु क्षीणा विकृतदर्शनाः। रमन्ते तापसांस्त्रस्तान् त्रासयन्तः सुदारुणाः॥ अपचिपन्ति शुभाण्डं दूषयन्ति घृतं हविः। शोणितैर्बलिकर्माणि नाशयन्ति समन्ततः॥ विश्वस्तानाम् अवि-

श्वश्वाश्वापदानां तपस्विनाम्। भैरवं कर्णमूलेषु विसृजन्ति महास्वनम्॥ कलसांश्चाप्रमत्तानां पुष्पाणि समिधस्तथा। दर्भां-श्चादाय गच्छन्ति होमकाले सुदारुणाः॥ तैर्दुरात्मभिराविष्ट-माश्रमं प्रेक्ष्य तापसाः। मंत्रयन्ति त्वया सार्द्धमन्यत्र गमनोत्सुकाः। . . . एकेन सकलत्रेण क्षेमं नेह विलम्बितुम्। वसता रक्ष-सामेषां समीपे क्रूरकर्मणाम्॥ कामं राम समर्थस्त्वं राक्षसानां विनाशने। गन्तव्यो न तु विश्वासञ्कलचित्ता हि राक्षसाः॥

"Men-devouring Rakshasas of various shapes, and wild beasts [or serpents] which feed on blood, dwell in this vast forest. They harass the devotees who reside in the settlements, and slay them in the forest: repress them, Rāghava. . . . These shapeless and ill-looking monsters testify their abominable character by various cruel and terrific displays. These base-born (*anārya*) wretches implicate the hermits in impure practices, and perpetrate the greatest outrages. Changing their shapes, and hiding in the thickets adjoining the hermitages, these frightful beings delight in terrifying the devotees. They cast away the sacrificial ladles and vessels, they pollute the cooked oblations, and utterly defile the offerings with blood. These faithless creatures inject frightful sounds into the ears of the faithful and austere eremites. At the time of sacrifice they snatch away the jars, the flowers, the fuel, and the sacred grass, of these sober-minded men. Seeing that the hermitage is infested by these wicked monsters, the devotees take counsel with thee, desiring to depart elsewhere. . . . . It is not expedient for thee to tarry here alone with thy spouse, in the neighbourhood of these cruel Rakshasas. Thou art indeed able to destroy them; but be not too confident, for they are a treacherous race."

Proceeding on his journey through the forest, Rāma encounters Virādha, a Rākshasa, who is thus described, Rām. iii. 7. 5, ff.: ददर्श गिरिकूटाभं राक्षसं घोरदर्शनम्। दीर्घजङ्घं महाकायं मृगव्याघ्रनिवर्हणम्। वक्त्रनासं विरूपाक्षं दीर्घास्यं निर्णतोदरम्।

अष्टौ सिंहानुपादाय शूलाग्रे रुधिरोक्षितान्। सविषाणं वसा-दिग्धं गजस्य च शिरो महत्। वसानं चर्म वैयाघ्रं सपादं रुधिरोक्षितम्। त्रासनं सर्वभूतानां व्यात्ताननमिवान्तकम्॥ "He beheld the Rākshasa of terrible aspect, like a mountain peak, with long legs, a huge body, a slayer of wild beasts and serpents, with a crooked nose, hideous eyes, a long face, a pendent belly, bearing on the point of a spear eight lions dripping with blood, and the huge head and tusks of an elephant smeared with fat, clad in the bloody skin of a tiger with the feet attached, an object of terror to all creatures, like Death with open mouth."[86]

This demon, who was slain by Rāma, turned out to be a Gandharva, who by a curse had been transformed into a Rākshasa; but now on his death, regains his primeval form. He, nevertheless, requests to be buried after the manner of the Rakshasas; Rām. iii. 8. 19: अवटे त्रापि मे राम प्रक्षिपेमं कलेवरम्। रक्षसां गतसत्त्वानामेष धर्मः सनातनः। अवटे ये

[86] The Nishādas also are described in the Purāṇas as very black and ugly, but differ from the Rākshasas in being very short. See Part First of this work, pp. 62-64; and Wilson's Vishṇu-Pur. p. 100. The Bhāg.-Pur. iv. 14. 43-46, thus describes them:—"*Viniśchityaivam ṛishayo vipannasya mahīpateḥ | mamanthur ūrum tarasā tatrāsīd bāhuko naraḥ | kākakṛishṇo 'tihrasvāṅgo hrasvabāhur mahāhanuḥ | Hrasvapād nimnanāsāgro raktākshas tāmramūrdhajaḥ | Tam tu te 'vanatam dīnam kim kāromīti vādinam | nishīdety abruvans tāta sa nishādas tato 'bhavat | Tasya vaṁśāstu naishādā giri-kānana-gocharāḥ |* "The ṛishis having thus resolved, hastily rubbed the thigh of the defunct king (Veṇa), when there issued from it a servile man, black as a crow, very short in limb, with short arms, large jaws, short feet, pendent nose, red eyes, and copper-coloured hair. This man, humble and bowed down, asked them what he should do. They answered, "Sit down" (*nishīda*), and he, in consequence, became a *Nishāda*. His descendants are the Naishādas, who dwell in hills and forests." We are informed by Prof. Wilson that the Padma Purāṇa (Bhū.-Kh.) "has a similar description, adding to the dwarfish stature and black complexion, a wide mouth, large ears, and a protuberant belly."

निधीयन्ते तेषां लोका महोदयाः। . . . तं समुद्यम्य सौमित्रिर्विराधं पर्वतोपमम्। गम्भीरमवटं कृत्वा निचखान परन्तपः॥ "And, Rāma, cast this body of mine into a trench; for such is the immemorial custom in regard to deceased Rākshasas; such of them as are so interred, attain to worlds of happiness. . . . . Accordingly, Saumitri (Lakshmaṇa) raised up the body of Virādha, resembling a mountain, and dug a deep trench, in which he buried it."[87] This may allude (as Weber remarks, Ind. Stud. i. 272, note) to a difference between the funeral rites of the Brahmanical Indians and the aboriginal tribes.

The following are two further passages in which the Rākshasas and their oppression of the anchorites are described. The sufferers, it appears, assert that they possess the power of ridding themselves of their enemies by their superhuman faculties; but these faculties they do not choose to exert for the reason assigned. Rām. iii. 10. 16, ff.: सोऽयं ब्राह्मणभूयिष्ठो वानप्रस्थगणो महान्। राक्षसैः पीड्यमानस्त्वां शरण्यं शरणं गतः॥ एहि पश्य शरीराणि मुनीनां भावितात्मनाम्। हतानां राम रक्षोभिर्बह्वीनां बहुधा वने॥ पम्पानिवासिनामेषामनु मन्दाकिनीमपि। चित्रकूटालयानाञ्च क्रियते कदनं महत्॥ "This large company of hermits, principally Brahmans, being oppressed by the Rākshasas, has resorted to thee for defence. Come, Rāma, and behold numerous bodies of the meditative *munis*, lying slain by the Rākshasas in many parts of the forest. A great slaughter is being perpetrated of the dwellers on the Pampā, and the Mandākini,[88] and the residents

[87] In the sequel, however, Rāma encounters another Rākshasa, whom he burns on a funeral pile.—Rām. iii., sec. 75, verses 45, 50, ff.

[88] Here it will be observed that the name of a river in the Himālaya (a branch of the Ganges, see Part First of this work, p. 187, note) is applied to a river in the centre of India. This illustrates what has been said above

on Chitrakūṭa." Rām. iii. 14. 12, ff.: होमकाले ऽग्निहोत्राणां पर्वकाले च राघव। क्रुद्धाः प्रधर्षयन्त्यस्मान् राक्षसाः पिशिताशनाः। राक्षसैः पीड्यमानानां तापसानां तपस्विनां। नान्या विमृश्यतामस्ति त्वदृते परमा गतिः॥ कामं तपःप्रभावेन शक्ता हन्तुं निशाचरान्। चिरार्जितं तु नेच्छामस्तपः खण्डयितुं स्वयम्॥ बहुविघ्नं तपश्चर्तुं दुश्चरं चैव राघव। तेन शापं न मुञ्चामो भक्ष्यमाणाश्च राक्षसैः॥ "At the time of offering the *agnihotra* sacrifice and on festivals, the fierce, flesh-devouring Rākshasas insult us. Thus harassed, the devotees find, on consideration, that they have no resource but in your assistance. It is true that by the power of our austerities we could slay these goblins; but we are unwilling to nullify the merit which has been earned by long exertion. The acquisition of such merit is arduous and attended with many obstacles: it is on that account that, though exposed to be devoured, we abstain from launching curses against our oppressors." The utterance of a curse, it appears from this passage, was an act prejudicial to the sanctity of him who pronounced it. Sitā, however, thinks that her husband Rāma has no right to protect the devotees by slaying the Rākshasas who were not in a state of hostility with him, and had done him no injury.[89]

It does not appear, however, why the aid of Rāma should have been so earnestly invoked, as the sage Agastya appears to have been perfectly successful in keeping the Rākshasas under restraint. His prowess is thus described; Rām. iii. 17. 17, ff.: अगस्त्य इति यः ख्यातो लोके पुण्येन कर्मणा। आश्रमो दृश्यते तस्य परिश्रान्तसुखावहः॥ निगृह्य तपसा मृत्युं लोकानां हितकाम्यया। दक्षिणा दिक् कृता येन शरण्या पुण्यकर्मणा॥

(pp. 357–358 and 361) about the application of the same name to different streams.

[89] Rām. iii. 13. 22.—*Rākshasānām vinā vairam badho vīra na yujyate | Aparādhād ṛite nāpi hantavyā Rākshasās tvayā*

तस्यैतदाश्रमपदं प्रभावाद् यस्य राघवैः। दिगियं दक्षिणा तात दृश्यते नोपभुज्यते॥ यदाप्रभृति चाक्रान्ता दिगियं पुण्यकर्मणा। तदाप्रभृति सर्वेऽस्य प्रशान्ता रजनीचराः॥ नाम्ना चेयं भगवतो दक्षिणा दिक् प्रदक्षिणा। प्रथिता त्रिषु लोकेषु दुष्प्रेक्ष्या क्रूरकर्मभिः॥ क्रोधात् प्रवृद्धो सुमहान् भास्करस्य नगोपमः। आदेशं पालयंस्तस्य विन्ध्यशैलो न वर्धते॥ समुद्र-मपिवच्चापि तिमिनक्रसमाकुलम्। दानवानां विनाशार्थं देवैः सेन्द्रैः प्रसादितः॥ . . . नात्र जीवेद् मृषावादी क्रूरो नैकृतिको ऽशुचिः। नृशंसः पापवृत्तो वा अनिष्णो यस्तथाविधः॥ "The hermitage of Agastya, renowned in the world by his holy acts, (that hermitage) which offers relief to the wearied, is now in view. [This is the sage] who has restrained death by the power of his austerities, and who, through his benevolence to mankind, has rendered the southern regions perfectly secure (see above, p. 425). This is the hermitage of that saint by whose might it is effected that this southern region is only gazed upon, and not possessed, by the Rākshasas. Ever since that holy man has visited this region, all the goblins have become subject to him. Through the name of this saint this southern country has become prosperous, and renowned in the three worlds, as secure against the gaze of the cruel. The Vindhya range, which in its wrath had grown to a great height, vieing with the mountain of the sun (Meru), now, submissive to this sage's command, increases no farther. He too swallowed the ocean with all its monsters, when he had been propitiated by the gods with Indra at their head, to destroy the Dānavas. . . . . No liar, or cruel, fiendish, impure, oppressive, or wicked man may dwell here."

In the preceding sect. 16. 13, ff., the destruction of two Asuras called Vātāpi and Ilvala, by this sage is described: दृहान्यदा किल क्रूरो वातापिरपि चेल्वलः। भ्रातरौ सहिता-

वात्तां ब्रह्मघ्नौ तौ महासुरौ॥ धारयन् ब्राह्मणं रूपमिल्वलः संस्कृतं वदन्। न्यमंत्रयत विप्रान् स श्राद्धमुद्दिश्य निर्घृणः॥

"Formerly the cruel Vātāpi and Ilvala, two brothers, who were great Asuras and slayers of Brahmans, lived together here. The ruthless Ilvala assuming the shape of a Brahman, and speaking Sanskrit, invited the Brahmans to a funeral ceremony." Ilvala served up to them his brother Vātāpi who had been transformed into a ram; but after they had eaten him, he called him back, when he issued forth, rending asunder the Brahmans' bodies. Thousands of Brahmans were killed by them in this way. Agastya however came to the place, and devoured Vātāpi according to his brother's invitation, but would not allow him to issue forth again; and burnt up Ilvala by the flash of his eye.[90]

Agastya is again spoken of (Rām. vi. 100. 15, 16) as the conqueror of the south:[91] निर्जितासि मया भद्रे शत्रुहस्ताद-मर्षिणा। अगस्त्येन दुराधर्षा मुनिना दक्षिणेव दिक्॥ "Thou hast," said Rāma to Sītā, "been conquered by me from the hand of the enemy, as the inviolable southern region was by the invincible Agastya."

Vibhīshaṇa, the brother of Rāvana, is represented by his sister Śūrpanakhā, in her interview with Rāma, as having abandoned the practices of the Rākshasas.[92] Can this allude to some of the southern tribes or chiefs, who allied themselves to Rāma, having adopted Brahmanical usages? Vibhīshaṇa eventually deserts his brother and is kindly received and embraced as a

[90] An explanation of this legend is suggested by Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 475. He thinks it may partly have taken its rise in the remembrance of some cannibals living in the Dekhan.

[91] On Agastya see the quotation from Lassen above, p. 425; and Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar.

[92] Rām. iii. 23. 38.—*Vibhīshaṇaścha dharmātmā Rākshasāchāravarjitaḥ* ||

friend by Rāma.[93] In the Rāmopākhyāna in the III. Book of the M.-Bh., verses 15,913—18, while Rāvana asks Brahmā to make him invincible by superhuman beings, Vibhīshaṇa, on the other hand, prays, "that even in the greatest calamity, he may never incline to unrighteousness, and that the Brahmanical weapon may appear to him a thing he had never learned to wield."[94] He thus indicates his submissive disposition towards the Brahmans.

The Rākshasas are described by Khara, one of their chiefs, Rām. iii. 28. 18, as being "of fearful swiftness, unyielding in battle, in colour like a dark blue cloud."[95]

Khara himself is characterised by Rāma as the "perpetual enemy of the Brahmans,"[96] as "cruel, hated of the Brahmans, devoid of righteousness, and wicked."[97] Rāvana is stigmatised as a "destroyer of religious duties, and the ravisher of the wives of others;"[98] as "having frequently at the sacrifices and oblations polluted the Soma which the Brahmans had offered with hymns;" and as a "destroyer of holy sacrifices, a killer of Brahmans, and a being of wicked life."[99] Nevertheless, to inspire confidence, Rāvana approaches Sītā pronouncing the Vedas, Rām. iii. 52. 20.[100]

[93] Rām. v. 91. 20: *Taṅcha Rāmaḥ samutthāpya parishvajya cha Rākshasam | Uvācha madhuram vākyam sakhā mama bhavān iti ||*

[94] M.-Bh. iii. 15,918: *Paramāpadgatasyāpi nādharme me matir bhavet | Aśikshitañcha bhagavan brahmāstram pratibhātu me |* In verse 15,897 Vibhīshaṇa is styled *dharmagoptā kṛiyāratiḥ*, "a protector of righteousness, and devoted to religious rites."

[95] *Rakshasām bhīmavegānām samareshvanivarttinām| Nīlajīmūta-varṇānām*, &c.

[96] Rām. iii. 35. 68 and 100: *Śaśvad brāhmaṇakaṇṭaka.*

[97] Ibid. verse 70: *Krūrātman brahmavidvishṭa tyaktadharma supāpakrit.*

[98] Ibid. 36. 11: *Uchchetāraṅcha dharmāṇām paradārābhimardanam.*

[99] Ibid. 36. 11, ff.: *Mantrairabhihutam pūrvam adhvareshu dvijātibhiḥ | Havirdāneshu yah Somam dharshayāmāsa naikaśaḥ | . . Punyayajñahanam krūram brahmaghnam dushṭachāriṇam |*

[100] *Brahma-ghosham udīrayan |* In the M.-Bh. iii. 15,981 the sons of Vaiśravaṇa *i. e.* Rāvaṇa and his brothers, are said to have been originally *sarve*

Under the designation of monkeys, again, which play so important a part in the Rāmāyana, we may have another class of the aborigines, who allied themselves to the Brahmans, and embraced their form of religious worship. In Rām. iii. 75. 66, it is said that "Sugrīva, though a monkey, is not to be despised, as he is grateful, can change his form at will, and is active in aiding his friends." [101] And we are told that at the inauguration of this same Sugrīva, who was reinstated by Rāma in his kingdom, from which he had been expelled by Bāli, "the monkeys gratified the Brahmans in due form, and by proper distribution, with gifts of jewels, clothes, and food: after which these men skilled in the Vedic hymns, poured clarified butter, consecrated by sacred texts, upon the kindled fire, which had been placed on kuśa grass." [102]

The monkeys are described as living in a cavern, (Rām. iv. 33. 1, ff.,) which Lakshmaṇa is represented as entering to convey a message of remonstrance to Sugrīva for his tardiness in aiding Rāma. The cavern, however, is a cave only in name, as, in the usual style of later Indian poetry, it is depicted as filled with gardens, woods, flowery thickets, palaces, temples of the gods, (*devatānām niketānścha*) ponds, a mountain stream, &c. This feature of monkey-life (their occupation of a cavern) may be either purely poetical, and intended to be in keeping with their other characteristics, or it may have reference to the rude habits of the aboriginal inhabitants of the southern forests.

It appears to be more probable that the extravagant descriptions of the gigantic and sylvan inhabitants of the Dekhan which I have just quoted, should have originated in some actual and hostile contact with the savages who occupied the then un-

*vedavidaḥ śūrāḥ sarve sucharitavratāḥ*, "all of them learned in the Vedas, bold, and attentive to religious rites."

[101] *Na tu te so 'vamantavyaḥ Sugrīvo vānaro 'pi san | kṛitajñaḥ kāmarūpī cha sahāyārthe cha kṛityavān |* See above, p. 166.

[102] Rām. iv. 25, 27, 28: *Tataste vānaraśreshṭhā yathābhāgam yathāvidhi | Ratnair vastraiścha bhakshyaiś cha toshayitvā dvijarshabhān | Tataḥ huśaparistīrṇam samiddham jātavedasam | Mantrapūtena havishā hutvā mantravido janāḥ ||*

cleared forests of that region, than that they should be the simple offspring of the poet's imagination.

It is certain that the description given of the Rākshasas in the Rāmāyana corresponds in many respects with the epithets applied to the same class of beings (whether we take them for men or for demons), who are so often alluded to in the Rig-veda. The Rāmāyana, as we have seen, depicts them as infesting the hermitages or settlements of the Arians, as obstructing their sacred rites,[103] as enemies of the Brahmans, as eaters of men,[103*] as horrible in aspect, as changing their shape at will, &c., &c. In the same way the Rig-veda (see above, pp. 386, ff. and 403, ff.) speaks of the Dasyus, Rākshasas, or Yātudhānas as being "destitute of, or averse to religious ceremonies" (*akarman, avrata, apavrata, ayajyu, ayajvan*), as "practising different rites" (*anyavrata*), as "godless" (*adeva, adevayu*), "worshippers of mad gods" (*mūradeva*), "haters of Brahmans, or priests" (*brahmadvish*), as "inhuman" (*amānusha*), "ferocious looking, or with fierce eyes" (*ghora-chakshas*), as "flesh-eaters" (*kravyād*), "devourers of life," or "insatiable" (*asutṛip*), as "eaters of human and of horse-flesh," (R.-V. x. 87. 16: *Yaḥ paurusheyeṇa kravishā samankte yo aśvyena paśunā yatudhānaḥ*); as monstrous in form, and possessed of magical or superhuman powers. It is quite possible that the author of the

[103] In the M.-Bh. xiv. 2472-74, the same hostile act which is so often assigned in the Rāmāyana to Rākshasas, is attributed to a Nishāda. Arjuna is there said to have arrived in the course of his progress to the south, in the country of Ekalavya, king of the Nishādas; and to have vanquished that king's son, who had come to obstruct a sacrifice (*yajñavighnārtham āgatam*).

[103*] In the story of Gautama, already partially quoted, in p. 382, from the M.-Bh., the very same epithet of "man-eater" (*purushāda*) which the Rāmāyana applies to the Rākshasas, is employed to characterise the Dasyus, who are regarded in the M.-Bh. merely as a tribe of savages, and not as demons. The Brahman who reproaches Gautama with sinking into the condition of a Dasyu, is said to have seen him "coming home with a bow in his hand, his limbs besmeared with blood, and in appearance like a *man-eater*," &c. (. . . *dhanushpāṇim dhṛitāyudham | Rudhireṇāvasiktāngam gṛihadvāram upāgatam | Tan dṛishṭvā purushādābham apadhvastam kshayāgatam*, &c.)

Rāmāyana may have borrowed many of the traits which he ascribes to his Rākshasas from the hymns of the Rig-veda.

The last editor and translator of the Rāmāyana, Signor Gorresio, writes as follows in regard to the fabulous races with whom that work has peopled the Dekhan; (Notes to vol. vi. pp. 401, 402): "The woodland inhabitants of India south of the Vindhya range are called in the Rāmāyana monkeys, in contempt, I conceive, of their savage condition, and also, perhaps, because they were little known at that time. In the same way Homer related fabulous stories about the races who, in his age, were unknown to the Greeks. The occupants of the Dekhan differed from the Sanskrit-speaking Indians in origin, worship, and language." And in regard to the Rākshasas he observes, p. 402: "The author of the Rāmāyana has no doubt, in mythical allegory, applied the hated name of Rākshasas to a barbarous people who were hostile to the Sanskrit-speaking Indians, and differed from them in civilisation and religion. These Rākshasas were, I say, robbers or pirates who occupied the southern coasts of India and the island of Ceylon." In his preface to the last Volume (the xth) of the Rāmāyana (pp. i.–ix.), Sig. Gorresio returns to this subject; and, after remarking that the Arian tribes on their immigration from Northern Asia into the Panjāb, had to encounter indigenous races of a different origin,[104] whom they partly drove before them, and partly reduced to servitude, he proceeds to make a distinction between the savage tribes occupying the Vindhya and its neighbourhood, and those further south. The first, whom the Rāmāyana styles Vānaras or monkeys, though they differed from the Aryas in race, language, colour and features, must, he thinks, have shown a disposition to receive the Arian civilisation; since they entered into league with Rāma, and joined in his expedition against the black tribes further south. The greater part of the tribes south of the Vindhya also submitted to the institutions of the Aryas; but

[104] The same thing, he remarks, happened to the Semitic races also, who came into contact with the Hamitic or Cushitic tribes, some of them nearly savage, as the Rephaim and the Zamzummim, Deut. ii. 20.

towards the extremity of the peninsula and in Ceylon, there was (Gorresio believes), a ferocious black race, opposed to their worship. To this race the Arians applied the name of Rākshasas, an appellation which, in the Veda, is assigned to hostile, savage, and hated beings. It is against this race that the expedition of Rāma, celebrated in the Rāmāyana, was directed. The Arian tradition undoubtedly altered the attributes of these tribes, transforming them into a race of giants, deformed, terrific, truculent, and able to change their form at will. But notwithstanding these exaggerations, the Rāmāyana has (Gorresio thinks) preserved here and there certain traits and peculiarities of the race in question which reveal its real character. It represents these people as black, and compares them sometimes to a black cloud, sometimes to black collyrium; attributes to them crisp and woolly hair, and thick lips; and describes them as wearing gold earrings, necklaces, turbans, and all those brilliant ornaments in which that race has always delighted. These people are also represented as hostile to the religion of the Aryas, and as disturbers of their sacrifices. The god whom they prefer to all others, and specially honour by sacrifices, is the terrible Rudra or Śiva, whom Gorresio believes to be of Hamitic origin. Their emblems and devices are serpents and dragons, symbols employed also by the Hamites.[105] Sig. Gorresio considers the story of Rāma's expedition against the Rākshasas to be historical in its foundation, though exaggerated by mythical embellishments; and he observes that the Arian tradition has even preserved the memory of an earlier struggle between the same two races, as some Puranic legends relate that Kārttavīrya, of the Yādava family, a contemporary of Paraśurāma, and somewhat anterior to the hero of the Rāmāyana, invaded Lankā (Ceylon), and made Rāvaṇa prisoner (Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa pp. 402, 417).[106]

[105] As Signor Gorresio has not supplied any references to the passages in which these various characteristics of the Rākshasas are described, I am unable to verify his details.

[106] The story is thus told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 11. 4: *Mahish-*

In regard to Signor Gorresio's views as above expounded, I will only observe here, that the aborigines of southern India are not generally regarded as of Hamitic origin; but, as we shall see in a subsequent Section, are considered by other philologists to be of Turanian extraction.

Professor Weber is of opinion (Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 181), that the principal characters who figure in the Rāmāyana, are not historical personages at all, but mere personifications of certain events and circumstances. Sītā (the furrow), he remarks, occurs both in the Rig-veda,[107] and in the Gṛihya ritual, as an object of worship, and represents the Arian agriculture; while he regards Rāma as the ploughman personified. The Rāmāyana has only, he thinks, a historical character in so far as it refers to an actual occurrence, the diffusion of Arian civilisation towards the south of the peninsula.

SECT. V.—*Indian traditions regarding the tribes in the south of the Peninsula*

Having furnished some account of the advance of the Aryas into southern India, and of the races whom they there encountered, according to the fabulous narrative of the Rāmāyana, I have now to enquire whether the other Hindu traditions offer us any more probable explanation of the origin and affinities of the tribes who occupied the Dekhan before its colonization by the Brahmans.

*matyām digvijayābhyāgato Narmadā-jalāvagāhana-krīḍā-nipānamadākulēnāy [ch?]alenaiva tena aśesha-deva-daitya-gandharveśa-jayodbhūta-madāvalepo 'pi Rāvaṇaḥ paśuriva baddhaḥ sva-nagaraikānte sthāpitaḥ.* "When, in the course of his campaign of conquest, Rāvaṇa came to Mahishmatī (the capital of Kārttavīrya), there he who had become filled with pride from his victories over all the devas, daityas, and the chief of the Gandharvas, was captured by Kārttavīrya (who was excited by bathing and sporting in the Narmadā, and by drinking wine), and was confined like a wild beast in a corner of his city." Prof. Wilson (p. 417, note), states that, according to the Vāyu Pur., Kārttavīrya invaded Lankā, and there took Rāvaṇa prisoner; but that the circumstances are more generally related as in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

[107] Rig-veda, iv. 57. 6 and 7.

Among the *Dasyu* tribes which, according to the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, vii. 18,[108] were descended from the Ṛishi Viśvāmitra, are mentioned the Andhras. And Manu, x. 43, 44,[109] specifies the Draviḍas among the tribes which had once been Kshattriyas, but had sunk into the condition of Vṛishalas (or Śūdras) from the extinction of sacred rites, and the absence of Brahmans. In like manner the Cholas and Keralas are stated in the Harivanśa to have once been Kshattriyas, but to have been deprived of their social and religious position by King Sagara.[110] In the same way it appears that several of the Purāṇas, the Vāyu, Mātsya, Agni, and Brāhma, claim an Arian descent for the southern races, by making their progenitors, or eponyms, Pāṇḍya, Karṇāṭa, Chola, and Kerala, to be descendants of Turvasu, a prince of the lunar line of Kshattriyas. (See the First Part, p. 53).[111] Turvasu, the Purāṇas say, was appointed by his father to rule over the south-east. Thus the Harivanśa relates: "Yayāti, son of Nahusha, having conquered the earth with its seven continents and oceans, divided it into five portions for his sons. This wise monarch placed Turvasu over the south-east region."[112]

According to the legend, Turvasu, in common with most other of Yayāti's sons, had declined to accede to his father's request that he should exchange his condition of youthful

[108] Quoted in the First Part of this work, pp. 84 and 178.

[109] Already quoted in the First Part, pp. 177-182, together with other parallel texts from the M.-Bh.

[110] See the First Part, p. 182.

[111] The Harivanśa, sect. 32, verse 1836, substitutes Kola for Karnāṭa: *Kuruthāmād ath' Ākriḍaś chatvāras tasya ch" ātmajāḥ | Pāṇḍyaścha Keralaśchaiva Kolaś Cholaścha pārthivaḥ | Teshām janapadāḥ sphītāḥ Pāṇḍyāś Cholāḥ saheralāḥ |* "From Kuruthāma sprang Akrīḍa, who had four sons, Pāṇḍya, Kerala, Kola, and Chola, who were the kings of the rich countries of Pāṇḍya, Chola, and Kerala."

[112] Ibid. sect. 30, verses 1616, ff.: *Sapladvīpām Yayātistu jitvā pṛithvīm sasāgarām| vyabhajat panchadhā rājan putrāṇām Nāhushas tadā | Diśi dakshiṇapūrvasyām Turvasum matimān prabhuḥ | . . . . nyayojayat ||*

vigour for his father's decrepitude, and was, in consequence, cursed by the old man. The M.-Bh. i. 3478, ff., gives the following particulars of the curse: "Since thou, though born from within me, dost not give me up thy youth, therefore thy offspring shall be cut off. Thou, fool, shalt be king over those degraded men who live like the mixed castes, who marry in the inverse order of the classes, and who eat flesh; thou shalt rule over those wicked Mlechhas who commit adultery with their preceptor's wives, perpetrate nameless offences, and follow the practices of brutes." [113]

The Andhras, Draviḍas, Cholas, and Keralas, who have been mentioned in the preceding passages as degraded Kshattriyas, or as descendants of Turvasu, were the inhabitants of Telingana, of the central and southern parts of the Coromandel coast (or the Tamil country), and of Malabar respectively. It is evident that the legendary notices which I have just quoted do not throw any light on their origin. That these tribes could not have been of Arian descent, I shall proceed to show in the next Section by the most satisfactory of all proofs, that derived from the language of their modern descendants.

SECT. VI.—*Languages of the South of India, and their fundamental difference from Sanskrit.*

As I have already intimated in the earlier parts of this volume, there exist in the vernacular dialects of northern India many distinct remains of older languages, distinct from Sanskrit, which are supposed to have been spoken by non-Arian tribes settled in that portion of the peninsula before the immigration of the Aryas; and I have also alluded to the existence

[113] *Yat tvam me hṛidayāj jāto vayaḥ svam na prayachhasi | tasmāt prajā samuchhedam Turvaso tava yāsyati | Sānkīrṇāchāra-dharmeshu pratilomachareshu cha | Piśitāśishu ch' āntyeshu mūḍha rājā bhavishyasi | Gurudāra-prasakteshu tiryagyonigateshu cha | Paśudharmishu pāpeshu Mlechheshu tvam bhavishyasi* || In verse 3533 Turvasu is said to be the progenitor of the Yavanas, *Turvasor Yavanāḥ smṛitāḥ* ||

of a class of languages in the south of India, viz., the Telugu, the Tamil, the Malayālim, and the Canarese, which are fundamentally different from the Sanskrit.[114] I shall now proceed to establish in detail the assertions I have made regarding these southern languages.

Various savage tribes are still to be found among the hilly tracts in central India, such as the Gonds, Kols, &c., whose language is quite distinct from any of the ancient or modern Prakrit dialects derived from the Sanskrit. It is not, however, necessary that I should enter into any details regarding the speech of these wild races. It will suffice for the purposes of my argument if I show that the same remark applies equally to the far more numerous, and more cultivated tribes who occupy the Dekhan; and that the various languages which are current in the different provinces of the south, while they have a close affinity to each other and a common origin, are, in their entire character, essentially distinct from Sanskrit and its derivatives. In regard to these languages, information of the most conclusive character may be obtained from the preface to Mr. A. D. Campbell's Telugu Grammar, (including the note by Mr. Ellis,) as well as from the Rev. Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages. From the last named work I abstract the following details:—"There are four principal languages current in the different provinces of southern India, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayālim, spoken collectively by upwards of thirty-one millions of people, besides five minor dialects, spoken by 650,000 persons. These forms of speech are not, in the proper sense of the word, dialects of one language, as no one of them is so nearly related to any of the others, as that two persons using different members of the group, the one, for instance, Tamil and the other Telugu, would be mutually intelligible. The Tamil and the Malayālim have the most affinity to each other, and yet it is only the simplest sentences

[114] See above pp. 57-65.

in one of these languages that would be understood by a person who spoke only the other. The Tamil and the Telugu on the other hand are the furthest removed from each other of the four languages; and though the great majority of roots in both are identical, yet they are so disguised by inflection and dialectic changes that persons speaking each only one of these two languages would be scarcely at all understood by each other. The various Dravidian idioms therefore, though sprung from a common stock, must be regarded as distinct languages.

"The northern Pandits classify the vernacular dialects of India[115] in two sets of five, the five Gauras and the five Dravidas. In the latter, they include the Mahratha and Gurjara, as well as the Telinga, the Karṇāṭaka, and the Drāviḍa or Tamil. The first two languages are, however, erroneously coupled with the last three; as, though the Mahratha and Gurjara (Guzeratee) possess certain features of resemblance to the languages of the south, they yet differ from the latter so widely and radically and are so closely allied with the northern group, Hindī, Bengalī, &c., that they must be placed in the same class with the latter. The Draviḍa proper or Tamil, the Telinga or Telugu, and the Karnataka, or Canarese, are not, as the northern Pandits suppose, derived from the Sanskrit, like the northern dialects, but, as regards their original and fundamental portion, are quite independent of Sanskrit. The difference between the northern and southern dialects consists in this, that though the former contain a small proportion of aboriginal or non-Sanskrit words, they are mainly composed of words derived by corruption from the Sanskrit,[116] while the Tamil, Telugu, and other southern languages, on the contrary, though they contain a certain amount of Sanskrit words, are yet both as regards the great bulk of their vocabulary, and their whole genius and spirit, totally distinct from the classical speech of the Arians."

[115] See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, vol. ii. pp. 21, ff.

[116] See above, p. 41, ff.

On this subject I shall introduce here some quotations from a note by Mr. F. W. Ellis, appended to the preface to Campbell's Telugu Grammar: "In arrangement the two latter, [the Carnata and Telingaṇa alphabets] which are nearly the same, certainly follow the Nágari, but in the form of the letters, mode of combination, and other particulars, there is no resemblance; and the *Tamil is totally different,* rejecting all aspirates and having many sounds which cannot be expressed by any alphabet in which the Sanscrit is written. . . . Neither the Tamil, Telugu, nor any of their cognate dialects are derivations from the Sanscrit; the latter, however it may contribute to their polish, is not necessary for their existence; and they form a distinct family of languages, with which the Sanscrit has, in latter times especially, intermixed, but with which it has no radical connexion."—(p. 2.) . . . "The Telugu, to which attention is here more specially directed, is formed from its own roots, which, in general, have no connexion with the Sanscrit, nor with those of any other language, the cognate dialects of Southern India, the Tamil, Cannaḍi, &c., excepted, with which, allowing for the occasional variation of con-similar sounds, they generally agree; the actual difference in the three dialects here mentioned is in fact to be found only in the affixes used in the formation of words from the roots; the roots themselves are not similar merely, but the same."—(p. 3.)

"To show that no radical connexion exists between the Sanscrit and Telugu, ten roots in alphabetic order, under the letters A, C, P, and V, have been taken from the common Dhātumālā, or list of roots, and with them have been compared the Telugu roots under the same letters taken from a Telugu Dhātumālā. . . . These will be found in the following lists, the mere inspection of which will show, that among the forty Telugu roots not one agrees with any Sanskrit root." These lists I will copy here:—

| Sanskrit. | Telugu. |
|---|---|
| Ak, *to mark, move, move tortuously.* | Akkalu, *to contract the abdominal muscles.* |
| Ag, *to move, move tortuously.* | |

Anka, } to mark.
Anga, }
Agh, to move, despise, begin, move quickly.
Agha, to sin.
Ach, to honour, serve.
Anch, to move, speak unintelligibly, speak intelligibly.
Aj, to throw, move, shine.
Aṭ, } to move.
Aṭh, }
Aḍ, to occupy, undertake.

Agalu, to separate, break.
Aggu, to worship.
Aggalu, to be insufferable, excessive.
Aṭs, to give by compulsion, to incur debt.
Aṇṭu, to touch, adhere, anoint the head.
Aḍangu, to be destroyed, submit, be subdued.
Aḍaru, to shine, shoot at.
Aḍalu, to weep bitterly.
Aḍu, to slap.

Kak, to hint desire, go.
Kakk, laugh.
Kakh, laugh.
Kakkh, laugh.
Kag, to move.
Kach, to tie, shine.
Kaj, to hiccup.
Kaṭ, to move, skreen, rain.
Kaṭh, to fear, recollect anxiously.
Kaḍ, to eat, rejoice, divide, preserve.

Kakku, to vomit.
Kaṭs, to play dice, chess.
Krats, to want.
Kaṭṭu, to tie, build, become pregnant.
Kaḍugu, to wash.
Kaḍangu, } to swell, boil.
Kanangu, }
Kaṭaku, } to lick as a dog.
Kaḍagu, }
Kaḍaru, to call aloud.
Kaḍalu, to move or shake.
Kaḍi, to approach, obtain.

Pach, to cook, explain, stretch.
Paḍ, to shine, move.
Paṭh, to speak.
Paṇ, to traffic, praise.
Pat, to rule, move.
Paṭh, to move.
Pad, to move, be fixed.
Pan, to praise.
Pamb, to move.
Parbb, to move.

Pagalu, } to break, make forked.
Pangalu, }
Panchu, to divide, send away, appoint.
Paṭṭu, to seize, touch, begin, knead the limbs, understand, unite intimately.
Paḍu, to suffer, fall.
Paṇḍu, to reprove, produce, lie down.
Paḍayu, to obtain.
Paṅtangu, to vow.
Paḍaru, to act precipitately, speak nonsense, threaten.
Pannu, to join steers to a plough, prepare.
Panatsu, to send, employ.

Vak, to be cooked, move.
Vag, to be lame.

Vaga, } to grieve, pretend grief, consult.
Vagu, }

Vach, *to speak, order.*
Vaj, *to move, renew, or repair.*
Vaṭ, *to surround, share, speak.*
Vaṭa, *to surround, share.*
Vaṇṭa, *to share.*
Vaṭh, *to go alone, be able.*
Vaḍ, *to shine, surround.*
Vaṉ, *to sound.*
Vagir, *to speak deceitfully, bark as a dog.*
Vangu, *to stoop.*
Vats, *to come.*
Vantsu, *to bind, pour out water.*
Vrats, *to divide.*
Vaṭu, *to become lean.*
Vaṭṭu, *to dry up.*
Vaṭṭru, *to shine.*
Vaḍḍu, *to serve food.*

Mr. Ellis then (p. 7) adduces a list of fifteen roots Telugu, Canarese and Tamil, taken in alphabetical order, "to show that an intimate radical connection exists between the Telugu and other dialects of Southern India." As the affinity between these languages is admitted by all competent scholars, I do not consider it necessary to quote this comparative list. Mr. Ellis then proceeds (p. 11) to prove by further details that these three languages are not only radically connected, but have also an intimate relation to each other "as regards terms used for the expression of ideas." With this view he first quotes a native writer, Mamidi Vencaya:

"Māmidi Vencaya, the author of the Āndhra Dīpikā, an excellent dictionary of the Telugu, has, in the preface to this work, introduced a concise analysis of the language, the substance of which . . . .is translated in the following paragraph.

"'The modes of derivation in the Āndhra [Telugu] language are four; they are Tatsamam, Tadbhavam, Deśyam, and Grāmyam. Tatsamam consists of Sanscrit terms, pure as spoken in heaven, the Telugu terminations being substituted for those of the original language.'"

Of these the following are examples[117]:—

| Sanskrit. | Tatsamam. | Sanskrit. | Tatsamam. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rāmaḥ | Rāmaṇḍu | Vāc | Vāccu |
| Vanam | Vanamu | Dyau | Divamu |

[117] [A few examples only are selected under two heads.—J. M.]

"'Tadbhavam consists of terms formed, either from the Sanscrit direct, or through one of the six Pracrits, varied by the interposition of syllables, and by the substitution, increment, and decrement of letters. . . . The several modes of derivation . . . are exemplified in the following lists:'"—

| Sanskrit | Tadbhavam. | Sanskrit. | Tadbhavam. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Samudraḥ | Sandaramu | Chandraḥ | Tsandurundu |

Separate lists follow of Tadbhava terms introduced from Sanskrit into Telugu through the Mahārāshṭrī, the Śaurasenī, the Māgadhī, the Paiśāchi, (said to be spoken in the countries of Pāndya and Kekaya), the Chulikā-Paiśāchī, (spoken in Gandhāra, Nepāla, and Kuntala), and the Apabhranśa, spoken in the country of Abhīra, and on the coast of the western ocean.

Mr. Ellis proceeds, p. 15, with his extracts from Māmidi Vencaya: "'Deśyam, in other words Āndhra or Telugu, is of two kinds; the language which originated in the country of Telingana, and Anya-deśyam, or the language of foreign countries intermixed with it.'" Previously to showing what part of the language originated in Trilingam, the native author quotes from the "Adharavana Vyācaranam," a description of the country to which this name applies.[118] Mr. Ellis gives the

[118] This passage, as quoted in the Andhrakaumudī, is given by Mr. Campbell in the Introduction to his Grammar, p. ii. note. I am indebted to the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, for transcribing it for me from the Telugu into Roman characters: *Śrīśaila-Bhīma-kāleśa-Mahendra-giri-sanyutam | Prākārantu mahat kṛitvā trīṇī dvārāṇi ch' ākarot | Trilochano maheśasya triśūlañcha kare vahan| Trilinga-rūpī nyavasat tri-dvāreshu gaṇair vṛitaḥ|Āndhra-Vishṇuḥ Surayuto Danujena Nishambhuna | Yuddhvā trayodaśa yugān hatvā tam Rākshasottamam| Avasat tatra ṛishibhir yuto Godāvarī-taṭe| Tatkāla-prabhṛiti kshetram Trilingam iti viśrutam|* I translate this anew as follows:—"He [the Andhrian Vishṇu before mentioned], having constructed a vast wall connecting Śrīśaila, Bhīmeśvara, Kāleśvara, and the Mahendra hills, formed in it three gates. There in the form of three Lingas, with three eyes, bearing in his hand the trident of Maheśa (Śiva), he dwelt in the three gates surrounded by his hosts. The Andhrian Visbṇu, attended by the

author's definition of the native Telugu, as the language which arose within the boundaries of Trilinga, as follows: "As it is here said, in the country between Śrisailam, the station of Bhīmeswara at Dracharāmam, the greater Kāḷeśwaram, and, as the fourth, the mountain of Mahendra, in these holy places were three lingams, and the language which originated in the country known by the name of the Trilinga-dēśam, is that now under consideration; this is the Atsu or pure Telugu, and is thus described in the Appacavīyam (verse): '*All those words which are in use among the several races who are aborigines of the country of Andhra, which are perfectly clear and free from all obscurity, these shine forth to the world as the pure native speech of Andhra (Śuddha-Andhra-Dēśyam).*'" The following are some of the examples given, viz., *pālu*, milk, *perugu*, curdled milk, *ney*, clarified butter, *puḍami*, the earth, *paḍatuka*, a woman, *koduku*, a son, *tala*, the head, *nela*, the moon, *maḍi*, a field, *puli*, a tiger, *magavanḍu*, a man. Mamidi Vencaya then proceeds to the terms introduced into Telugu from foreign countries. "The following verse is from the Appacavīyam: '*O Keśava, the natives of Andhra, having resided in various countries, by using Telugu terms conjointly with those of other countries, these have become Andhra terms of foreign origin.*'"

This is what Mamidi Vencàya has to say about the Grāmyam terms: "Terms which cannot be subjected to the rules of grammar, and in which an irregular increment or decrement of letters occurs, are called Grāmyam; they are corruptions, and are described in the following verse from the Appacavīyam (verse): '*Such Tenugu words as are commonly used by rustic folk are known as Grāmyam terms: these lose some of their regular letters and are not found in poetry, unless, as in abusive language, the use of them cannot be avoided.*'"

Suras, having slain the illustrious Rakshasa Nishambhu, the son of Danu, after a conflict lasting for thirteen yugas, resided there with the ṛishis, on the banks of the Godavarī. Since that time this sacred territory has been called Trilinga."

"In the preceding extracts," (Mr. Ellis proceeds,) "the author, supported by due authority, teaches that, rejecting direct and indirect derivatives from the Sanscrit, and words borrowed from foreign languages, what remains is the pure *native language of the land:* this constitutes the great body of the tongue, and is capable of expressing every mental and bodily operation, every possible relation and existing thing; for, with the exception of some religious and technical terms, no word of Sanscrit derivation is *necessary* to the Telugu. This pure native language of the land, allowing for dialectic differences and variations of termination, is, with the Telugu, common to the Tamil, Cannaḍi (*i. e.* Canarese), and the other dialects of southern India: this may be demonstrated by comparing the Dēśyam terms contained in the list taken by Vencaya from the Appacaviyam with the terms expressive of the same ideas in Tamil and Cannaḍi. It has been already shown that the radicals of these languages *mutatis mutandis* are the same, and this comparison will show that the native terms in general use in each, also, correspond."

A comparative list of Telugu, Canarese, and Tamil words is then annexed, pp. 19—21, which I omit. Mr. Ellis then goes on (p. 21): "From the preceding extracts and remarks on the composition of the Telugu language, as respects terms, it results that the language may be divided into four branches of which the following is the natural order. Dēśyam, or Atsu-Telugu, *pure native terms,* constituting the basis of this language, and, generally also, of the other dialects of southern India: Anyadēśyam, *terms borrowed from other countries,* chiefly of the same derivation as the preceding: Tatsamam, *pure Sanscrit terms,* the Telugu affixes being substituted for those of the original language: Tadbhavam, *Sanscrit derivatives,* received into the Telugu direct, or through one of the six Pracrits, and in all instances more or less corrupted. The Grāmyam (literally the *rustic* dialect, from *Grāmam* Sans. *a village*), is not a constituent portion of the language, but is

formed from the Atsu-Telugu by contraction, or by some permutation of the letters not authorised by the rules of grammar. The proportion of Atsu-Telugu terms to those derived from every other source is *one half;* of Anya-dēśyam terms *one tenth;* of Tatsamam terms in general use *three twentieths;* and of Tadbhavam terms *one quarter.*

"With little variation, the composition of Tamil and Cannaḍi are the same as the Telugu, and the same distinctions, consequently, are made by their grammatical writers. The Telugu and Cannaḍi both admit of a freer adoption of Tatsamam terms than the Tamil: in the two former, in fact, the discretion of the writer is the only limit of their use; in the high dialect of the latter those only can be used which have been admitted into the dictionaries by which the language has long been fixed, or for which classical authority can be adduced; in the low dialect the use of them is more general; by the Brahmans they are profusely employed, more sparingly by the Śudra tribes. The Cannaḍi has a greater, and the Tamil a less, proportion of Tadbhavam terms than the other dialects; but in the latter all Sanscrit words are liable to greater variation than is produced by the mere difference of termination, for, as the alphabet of this language rejects all aspirates, expresses the first and third consonant of each regular series by the same character, and admits of no other combination of consonants than the duplication of mutes or the junction of a nasal and a mute, it is obviously incapable of expressing correctly any but the simplest terms of the Sanscrit. All such, however, in this tongue are accounted Tatsamam when the alteration is regular and produced only by the deficiencies of the alphabet.

"But though the derivation and general terms may be the same in cognate dialects, a difference of idiom may exist so great that in the acquisition of one no assistance in this respect can be derived from a knowledge of the other. As regards the dialects of southern India this is by no means the case: in collocation of words, in syntactical government, in phrase, and

indeed in all that is comprehended under the term idiom, they are not similar only but the same. To demonstrate this, and to show how far they agree with, or differ from, the Sanscrit," Mr. Ellis proceeds to give a series of comparative renderings of sentences in Sanskrit, and in the Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese. As however it would lengthen this Section too much to cite these details, I must refer the reader who is desirous of pursuing the subject further, to Mr. Ellis's "Note" itself.

From Mr. Campbell's Introduction to his Grammar, pp. vii. viii. ff., I supply some further particulars regarding the early cultivation of Telugu and the belief of the native grammarians as to the origin of their language: — "The most ancient Teloogoo grammarian of whom mention is made in the native books is the sage Kunva, who is said to have been the first that composed a treatise on the principles of the language. It[119] is stated that he executed this work by command of a king of Andhra, named Andhra Royoodoo, son[120] of Soochundra. . . . The works of Kunva, of Audharvan Achary (sic), and of several other ancient grammarians are not now to be found. All the treatises on Teloogoo grammar at present extant, consist of Sanscrit commentaries on a series of concise apophthegms written in Sanscrit by a Bramin named Nannapa, or Nunniah Bhutt."

"It has been very generally asserted, (says Mr. Campbell, p. xv. ff.,) and indeed believed, that the Teloogoo has its origin

[119] "Kunva said '*He who speaks irreverently of my grammar, composed by the command of Andhra Vishnoo, shall be considered as guilty of irreverence to his priest.*' Andhra Cowmudi." The original is as follows: *Kaṇvastu yathā āha Andhra-vishṇor anujña-kṛitasya madvyākaraṇasya drohī guru-drohīti.*

[120] In regard to this king Mr. Campbell quotes the following passage which precedes that cited in my former note, p. 446: *Āndhranātho Mahāvishṇur Nishambhu-danujāpahā | Purā Svayambhuvo Manoḥ kāle Kaliyuge Hariḥ | Kākule rājavaryasya Suchandrasya tanūbhavaḥ | Abhavat sarva devaiścha veshtito lokapūjitaḥ |* "Formerly, in the time of Manu Svayambhū, in the Kali age, Hari, the lord of Andhra, the great Vishnu, the slayer of the Dānava Nishambhu, was born in Kākula as the son of the monarch Suchandra, and was attended by all the gods, as well as reverenced by all mankind."

in the language of the Vedams. . . . I venture publicly to state my enquiries to have led me to a contrary conclusion; but I do so with the less hesitation as I find myself supported by the concurrent evidence of all native authors who have ever written on the subject of the Teloogoo language."

"In common with every other tongue now spoken in India, modern Teloogoo abounds with Sanscrit words; . . . nevertheless there is reason to believe that the origin of the two languages is altogether distinct." "In speaking the Teloogoo the Soodras use very few Sanscrit words: among the superior classes of Vysyas, and pretenders to the Rajah caste, Sanscrit terms are used only in proportion to their greater intimacy with the Bramins, and their books; and when we find even such Sanscrit words as these classes do adopt, pronounced by them in so improper and rude a manner as to be a common jest to the Bramins, who, at the same time, never question their pronunciation of pure Teloogoo words, I think we may fairly infer it to be probable at least that these Sanscrit terms were originally foreign to the language spoken by the great body of the people."

"Some native grammarians maintain that before the king Andhra Royadoo[121] established his residence on the banks of the Godavery, the only Teloogoo words were those peculiar to what is emphatically termed the *pure* Teloogoo, now generally named *the language of the land*, which they consider coeval with the people, or, as they express it, 'created by the god Brimha.' The followers of this prince, say they, for the first time began to adopt Sanscrit terms with Teloogoo terminations, and by degrees corruptions from the Sanscrit crept into the language, from the ignorance of the people respecting the proper pronunciation of the original words.[122] This would imply that the nation still

[121] "This is the prince who is now worshipped as a divinity at Siccacollum on the river Krishna, and who was the patron of Kunva, the first Teloogoo grammarian."

[122] The following is the passage referred to, and it follows the one quoted

retain some faint remembrance of those times in which their language still existed independent of the Sanscrit; and it is certain that every Teloogoo grammarian, from the days of Nunnia Bhutt to the present period, considers the two languages as derived from sources entirely distinct; for each commences his work by classing the words of the language under four separate heads, which they distinguish by the respective names of *Dēshyumoo, language of the land; Tutsumumoo, Sanscrit derivatives; Tudbhuvumoo, Sanscrit corruptions, and Gramyumoo, provincial terms.* [Compare the Grammar, p. 37.] To these, later authors have added *Anya-dēshyumoo, foreign words.*"

"The words included in the first class, which I have denominated *the language of the land*, are . . . . the most numerous in the language, and the model by which those included in the other classes are modified and altered from the different languages to which they originally belonged. The name by which they are designated implies '*that which belongs to the country or land;*' it marks the words in question, not as merely 'current in the country,' but as the growth and produce of the land."

"In the course of this work it will be obvious to the Sanscrit scholar that the declension of the noun by particles or words added to it, — the use of a plural pronoun applicable to the first and second persons conjointly — the conjugation of the affirma-

in the note, p. 446: *Tatratyās tatsamālāpās tatkālīnā Harer bhaṭāḥ | kālena mahatā sarvam tatsamam svalpa-buddhibhiḥ | Aśuddhochchāryamāṇam sat tadbhavañcheti sammatam | Vikarsha-vyatyayābhyāñcha pādārdhokti viśeshataḥ | Tabhavam iti kathyante kālena mahatā samāḥ | Brahmaṇā nirmitā vāchaḥ pūrvam Andhreśitur Hareḥ | Achchā iti cha kathyante sup-kṛid-dhātu-samanvitāḥ |* "The adherents of Hari who dwelt there (in Trilinga, on the banks of the Godāvarī) at that time, spoke *tatsama* words. In process of time these *tatsama* words began to be incorrectly pronounced by ignorant persons, and were regarded as *tadbhava*. *Tatsama* words were denominated *tadbhava* from loss or substitution [of letters], or from being contracted a fourth or a half. Words, consisting of nouns, verbals, and roots, which were fashioned by Brahmā before the time of Hari, the lord of Andhra, are called *achcha* (pure)."

tive verb — the existence of a negative aorist, a negative imperative, and other negative forms of the verb — the union of the neuter and feminine genders in the singular, and of the masculine and feminine genders in the plural, of the pronouns and verbs — and the whole body of the syntax, are entirely unconnected with the Sanscrit; while the Tamil and Karnataca scholar will at once recognize their radical connexion with each of these languages. The reader will find all words denoting the different parts of the human frame, the various sorts of food or utensils in common use among the natives, the several parts of their dress, the compartments of their dwellings, the degrees of affinity and consanguinity peculiar to them, in short all terms expressive of primitive ideas or of things necessarily named in the earlier stages of society, to belong to the pure Teloogoo or *language of the land.* It is true (so mixed have the two languages now become) that *Sanscrit derivatives or corruptions* may without impropriety, be occasionally used to denote some of these. This, however, is not common: the great body of Sanscrit words admitted into the language consists of abstract terms, and of words connected with science, religion, or law, as is the case, in a great degree, with the Greek and Latin words incorporated with our own tongue: but even such Sanscrit words as are thus introduced into Teloogoo are not allowed to retain their original forms; they undergo changes and assume terminations and inflections unknown to the Sanscrit, and, except as foreign quotations, are never admitted into Teloogoo until they appear in the dress peculiar *to the language of the land.*"

At the risk of some repetition, I shall add a few further observations, abstracted from Dr. Caldwell's grammar, pp. 29, ff., & 56, in proof of the radical differences between the Sanskrit and the southern languages: — "No person," he remarks, "who is acquainted with comparative philology, and who has compared the primitive and essential words, and the grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages with those of the Sanskrit, can imagine that the former have been derived from the latter by any

known process of corruption or decomposition. We shall first advert to the Sanskrit element which has been introduced into these languages, and then revert to their non-Sanskrit or essential basis. First, the most recent infusion of Sanskrit words into the Tamil, Mr. Caldwell states, (p. 56,) was effected by the great religious schools of Śankara Achāryya and Rāmānuja, from about the tenth to the fifteenth century A.D. The words then introduced (excepting a few points wherein change was unavoidable) are pure, unchanged Sanskrit. Secondly, at a period partly preceding and partly contemporaneous with the above, from the eighth to the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D., the Jainas introduced the largest proportion of the Sanskrit derivatives that are to be found in Tamil. This period of Jaina intellectual predominance was the Augustan age of Tamil literature, a period when the celebrated college of Madura flourished, and the Cuṛaḷ, the Chintāmani, and the classical vocabularies and grammars were written. The Tamilian writers of this period, from national feeling, and their jealousy of Brahminical influence, modified the Sanskrit words which they employed so as to accord with the euphonic rules of Tamil. Thus *loka*, 'world,' becomes *ulagu* in Tamil; *rājā*, 'king,' becomes *araśu*; and *rā*, 'night,' (from *rātri*) becomes *iravu*. Nearly the whole of the Sanskrit words found in the Telugu, Canarese, and Malayalim belong to these two periods, or correspond mainly with the Sanskrit derivatives found in the Tamil of those two periods, especially the more recent. These derivatives are divided into the two classes of *Tatsama*, words identical or nearly so with pure Sanskrit, and *Tadbhava*, words which are borrowed from Sanskrit or the northern Prakrits, but have been to some degree modified in form. Thirdly, the Tamil contains many derivatives, belonging to the very earliest period of the literary cultivation of that language, which were probably introduced before Sanskrit words had begun to be imported into the other southern dialects. The Sanskrit of this period is more corrupted than that of the Jaina period, and the corruptions are of a different character. The

Jainas altered the Sanskrit words in accordance with the euphonic rules of Tamil, whereas the words introduced in the earliest period have been changed in defiance of all rules; as the Sanskrit *śrī*, 'sacred,' into *tiru*. While, however, a certain proportion of Sanskrit words have been introduced into the Dravidian tongues in the ways just described, — it would be quite a mistake to suppose that these languages are derived from the Sanskrit in the same manner as the Hindī, Mahrattī, and other Gauḍa dialects. For (1.) the non-Sanskrit portion of the Dravidian languages exceeds the Sanskrit portion nearly as much as in the North-Indian dialects the Sanskrit element exceeds the indigenous or non-Sanskrit element. (2.) The pronouns and numerals of the Dravidian languages, their mode of inflecting verbs and nouns, the syntactic arrangement of their words — everything, in fact, which constitutes the essential structure of a language, are radically different from those of the Sanskrit. The contrary is the case with the vernacular dialects of the north, in which the pronouns, the numerals, and a large proportion of nouns and verbs, have been derived by adoption or gradual transformation from the older Prakrits and ultimately from the Sanskrit. (3.) The true Dravidian words, which form the great majority in the southern vocabularies, are placed by the native grammarians in a different class from the Sanskrit derivatives, and are honoured with the epithets 'national words' and 'pure words.'" In support of this Dr. Caldwell refers to the passage already quoted in p. 452; and gives it as his opinion that Andhrarāya probably lived several centuries before the Christian era. "(4.) In the uncultivated languages of the Dravidian stock, Sanskrit words are not at all, or very rarely, employed. And further, some of the cultivated Dravidian languages which do make use of Sanskrit derivatives, are able to dispense with these altogether. This indeed is not the case with Telugu, Canarese, or Malayālim; but Tamil, the most highly cultivated, as regards its original structure, of all the Dravidian idioms, is not dependent on Sanskrit, for the full expression of

thought. In fact the ancient or classical dialect of this language, the Shen-Tamil, in which nearly all the literature has been written, contains very little Sanskrit; and even differs chiefly from the colloquial dialect by the jealous care with which it rejects derivatives from Sanskrit and restricts itself to pure Dravidian elements. So much is this the case that a Tamil composition is regarded as refined and classical, not in proportion to the amount of Sanskrit it contains, but in proportion to the absence of Sanskrit. It is also worthy of remark that though the principal Telugu writers and grammarians have been Brahmans, in Tamil, on the contrary, few Brahmans have written any works of distinction, while the Tamilian Sudras have cultivated and developed their language with great ardour and success; and the finest compositions in the Tamil language, the Cuṛaḷ and the Chintāmani, are not only independent of the Sanskrit, but original in design and execution."

A few more specimens of Tamil words derived from Dr. Caldwell's book, passim, may be added to show how perfectly distinct they are from the Sanskrit, and North-Indian vernacular, words having the same sense, with which I shall presume the reader to be acquainted.

NOUNS, &c.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| nān | I | kaṇ | the eye | tinggal | the moon |
| nām | we | mūkku | the nose | iruḷ | darkness |
| nī | thou | mēl | above | toppu | a grove |
| nīr | we | kīṛ | below | magan | a son |
| viral | finger | kāl | foot | magaḷ | a daughter |
| kaḍal | the sea | viṇ | sky | illān | a husband |
| maṇal | sand | kurudu | blindness | illāl | a wife |
| kuḍal | a bowel | irumbu | iron | vaṇṇān | a washerman |
| niṛal | shade | iruppu | of iron | vaṇṇātti | a washerwo- |
| sēval | a cock | suvar | a wall | oru | one [man |
| nilam | the ground | ugir | finger-nail | irandu | two |
| mādu | an ox | tamir | sweetness | mūndru | three |
| ādu | a sheep | kiṇaṛu | a well | nāngu | four |
| kuranju | a monkey | īral | the liver | eindu | five |
| pagal | a day | tigil | a fright | aru | six |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| eṛu | seven | pattu | ten | munnūṛu | three | hun- |
| eṭṭu | eight | mupattu | thirty | arubadu | sixty | [dred |
| onbadu | nine | mūru | a hundred | eṛubadu | seventy | |

Tamil declension of *manei*, a house.

| | Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|---|
| Nom. | manei | maneigal |
| Acc. | maneiyei | maneigalei |
| Inst. | maneiyāl | maneigalāl |
| Conj. | maneiyoḍu | maneigaloḍu |
| Dat. | maneikku | maneigalukku |
| Abl. | maneiyilirundu | maneigalirundu |
| Gen. | maneiyin | maneigalin |
| Loc. | maneiyiḍattil | maneigaliḍattil |
| Voc. | maneiye,, | maneigaḷe |

VERBS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| irrukkiṛadu | it is | tuḷir | to sprout |
| perugugiṛudu | it increases | pugaṛ | to praise |
| aḍangu | to be contained | magiṛ | to rejoice |
| aḍakku | to contain | suṛal | to whirl |
| āgu | to become | kuyil | to sound |
| ākku | to make | tuval | to bend |
| nīngu | to quit | uruḷ | to roll |
| nikku | to put away | kaḍukku | to suffer pain |
| nirambu | to be full | tara | to give |
| nirappu | to fill | vara | to come |
| vaḷar | to grow | | |

"(5) The grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages is radically different from that of the Sanskrit; and proves that they are quite independent of that language." For further illustrations of this fact I must refer to Dr. Caldwell's Grammar, pp. 34, ff., and to the subsequent details given in that work, passim.

SECT. VII. — *Results deducible from the preceding Sections.*

In the last section I have supplied abundant evidence, derived from the best authorities, of the radical differences which exist between the languages of the south of India, and the Sanskrit. The evidence which I have adduced is not (as will have been noticed) confined to the *fact of those dissimilarities of roots and of structure* which are sufficient to convince the compara-

tive philologist that the Dravidian dialects have no original affinity with the Indo-Germanic tongues. We have also the *testimony* of the native grammarians of the south to the same effect (as we have seen, pp. 445—447, 451, ff.). The Telugu authors hold that the words of which their language is composed are of four classes, *Deśya* or *Atsu* (or aboriginal), *Tatsama* (pure Sanskrit), *Tadbhava* (modified Sanskrit), and *Grāmya* (or rustic); and they consider that the first class, the *Deśya* or *Atsu* Telugu words, constituted the primeval basis of the language before the introduction of *Tatsama* words in the time of King Andhra-rāya,[123] and were created, with a complete grammatical structure of their own, by the god Brahmā.' I am not in a position to cite any similar testimony on the part of the Tamil grammarians, but Mr. Ellis informs us (see p. 449) that the same distinctions are made by them as by the Telugu writers, and their idea of the relation of perfect independence in which their language stands to the Sanskrit, is sufficiently shown by the fact that they regard that Tamil as the most pure and classical, in which there is the smallest admixture of Sanskrit. It is therefore a fact, established beyond all doubt, that the Dravidian or South-Indian languages have, as regards their original and fundamental portion, no affinity with the Indo-Germanic languages; and could not, by any means known to comparative philologists, have been derived from any member of that family. There are certain processes and modes of mutation which are always discoverable when one language springs out of another. The words of the derivative tongue are always recognisable, (even if considerably modified,) in the new forms which they have assumed; and the steps of their transformation can be either exactly traced, or at least divined with certainty. But the primitive words and

[123] We have already seen p. 455, that Dr. Caldwell considers this monarch to have flourished several centuries B. C. From the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 24. it appears that an Andhra-bhṛitya dynasty of kings reigned in Magadha, whose accession Wilson (V. P. p. 474.) calculates to have dated from 18 years B.C. See also Lassen, Ind. Ant. ii. 755. 934.

forms of the South-Indian dialects could not have issued from the Sanskrit by any known law of modification.

But if the Dravidian languages be of a stock altogether distinct from the Sanskrit, it follows inevitably (see above, p. 277) that the races which *originally* spoke these two classes of languages must also have been distinct from one another in their descent, and could never have belonged to the same branch of the human family. Had the Dravidian nations been of Arian lineage, the whole of their languages, the Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayālim, must have resembled either the older Prakrits (described in the early part of this volume) or the later Hindi, Mahratti, and Bengali, all of which have evidently arisen, in great part, from the decomposition of Sanskrit. But the very contrary is (as we have seen) the case in regard to those southern dialects.

And as the Dravidians *now* make use of languages which are radically distinct from Sanskrit, we cannot possibly suppose that the aboriginal part of the nation ever, at any former time, spoke a language which had any affinity to Sanskrit. Such a supposition would be at variance with the traditions preserved by the Telugu grammarians. And no race of mankind has ever been known which (except under the pressure of external influence) has lost, or abandoned, the language which it had derived from its forefathers, and of itself adopted a form of speech fundamentally different. But as we have no proof of any such external influence which could have led the Dravidians, to exchange their original language for another, we must conclude that they have derived their existing dialects from their forefathers: and these their forefathers, as their speech was distinct from that of the ancestors of the Arians, must have been distinct in lineage also, from the latter. As, therefore, the original Dravidian Indians of the south of India are of a different race from the Arian Indians, they could not, as Manu and the Mahābhārata assert, (see above, p. 439,) have been degraded Kshattriyas. And this conclusion is not in the slightest degree

affected by the fact that a considerable portion of the existing Dravidian communities, though speaking the language of the south, belongs, or claims to belong, to the higher Arian castes. For if the southern Brahmans, and some of the other castes, be (as in all probability they are,) of Arian descent, this does not prove that the same is the case in regard to the great mass of the Dravidian population; for there is every reason to believe that those southern communities existed before the Arians had spread themselves to the south of the Vindhya mountains, and that the Brahmans emigrated at a comparatively recent period from northern to southern India. On their arrival in the south, these Brahmans no doubt spoke Sanskrit or rather one of its derivative Prakrits. But though, from their superior civilisation and energy they soon succeeded in placing themselves at the head of the Dravidian communities, and in introducing among them the Brahmanical religion and institutions, they must have been so inferior in numbers to the Dravidian inhabitants as to render it impracticable for them to dislodge the primitive speech of the country, and to replace it by their own language. They would therefore be compelled to acquire the Dravidian dialect of the province in which they settled; and, in a generation or two, the majority of them would lose the vernacular use of the Prakrit dialects which they had brought with them. This, however, would not prevent their retaining in use a great many words of Sanskrit origin. And as many of these Brahmans were learned men, and as their religious books were composed in Sanskrit, they would necessarily preserve their acquaintance with that sacred tongue, and with its literature; and would no doubt from time to time introduce fresh Sanskrit words into the local vernacular,[124] just as we see that English is continually enriched

[124] I may take this opportunity of adverting again to the probability already alluded to above, in note 41. p. 43, that Sanskrit has not only influenced the aboriginal tongues both of northern and southern India, but has also received some influence from one or from both of them in return.

by the addition of new Greek and Latin words. The fact that many of the present inhabitants of the south of India are of Arian extraction affords, therefore, no reason for doubting that the primitive language of those provinces was totally distinct from the Sanskrit, and that the population by whom that language was originally used was totally unconnected with the Arian race. For even the existence of the limited proportion of non-Sanskrit words which we can discover (see above, pp. 35—43) in the Hindī, Mahratti, and other northern dialects, is sufficient to prove that there originally existed in northern India one or

Mr. E. Norris observes, (Journ. Roy. As. Soc. vol. xv. p. 19): "I will here express my conviction that the sounds called cerebral are peculiar to the Tartar or Finnish class of languages; that the really Indian [*i. e.* the aboriginal, or non-Arian—J. M.] languages are all of Tartar origin, or, at least, that their phonetic and grammatical affinities are Tartar; and that the writers of Sanskrit adopted the sound from their Indian neighbours." And Professor Benfey says (Complete Sanskrit Grammar, p. 20): "The mute cerebrals have probably been introduced from the phonetic system of the Indian aborigines into Sanskrit, in which, however, they have become firmly established." And at p. 73, of the same work, he thus writes: "Sanskrit is a language of great antiquity and of wide diffusion. Long after it had ceased to be vernacularly spoken, it continued to be employed as the organ of culture and religion, and in this capacity it prevailed over extensive regions where there existed alongside of it, not merely a variety of dialects which had been developed out of it, but also several popular dialects which were originally quite distinct from it. From these circumstances it has resulted, not only that forms which have been admitted into the Prakrit dialects have been afterwards adopted into Sanskrit, but, further, that words which were originally quite foreign to the Sanskrit have been included in its vocabulary. To separate these foreign words will only become possible when an accurate knowledge of the dialects which have no affinity with Sanskrit shall have been attained. But it is almost as difficult to distinguish those irregular forms which have originated in the dialects derived from Sanskrit and have been afterwards received into Sanskrit, from those forms which have arisen in Sanskrit itself; because, on the one hand, Sanskrit literature and its history are as yet but little known, and, on the other hand, those phonetic changes, which attained their full power in the Prakrits, had already begun to work in Sanskrit itself." See also above, p. 152.

more races of non-Arian inhabitants who occupied the country before the immigration into Hindusthan of the Sanskrit-speaking Aryas.

It now remains for me to inquire how this important fact that the great bulk of the population of the Dekhan is non-Arian in its descent, coupled with the other conclusions of the foregoing sections, affects the results at which I had previously arrived in regard to the trans-Himalayan origin of the Arians, and their immigration into India from the north-west.

In the preceding chapter, we were led by a variety of considerations, all pointing to the same result, to conclude that the Aryas had penetrated into India from the north-west. The facts which have been substantiated in the foregoing sections of the present chapter are in perfect harmony with that conclusion. These facts are (1.) that the Aryas, when living in the Panjāb, found themselves in conflict with a class of enemies whom, in contrast to the men of their own race, they called Dasyus: (2.) that the Aryas, after occupying the north-west of India, from the Indus to the Sarasvatī, began, at length, to move forward to the east and to the south: (3.) that, still later, they crossed the Vindhya range, and commenced to colonize the Dekhan, which had been previously occupied exclusively by savage tribes: and (4.) that the nations who at the present day inhabit the different provinces of the Dekhan, and who (with the exception of such part of the population as is descended from the later Arian immigrants) are the direct descendants of the aboriginal tribes, — speak a class of languages which are radically distinct from the Sanskrit. It may be expedient, however, to show somewhat more in detail the manner in which these circumstances corroborate, or at least harmonize with, the theory that the Arians are not autochthonous, but of trans-Himalayan origin, and that they immigrated into Hindusthan from the north-west. First, then, the fact that at the dawn of Indian history, the earliest Vedic period, we find the Arian Indians inhabiting the Panjāb; then advancing gradually eastward

along the southern border of the Himālaya from the Sarasvatī to the Sadānīrā, and spreading, simultaneously, no doubt, over the southern parts of Doab, into Behar; and at length crossing the Vindhya mountains into the Dekhan,—affords the strongest presumption that they penetrated into India from some quarter closely adjoining the north-western corner of that country, which was the starting-point of their onward course of conquest and colonization. Secondly: the indubitable fact that the Arians found, on penetrating into the Dekhan, a people speaking a language radically different from their own, who had been in earlier occupation of the country; and the almost equally certain fact that they had previously encountered similar alien tribes in the Panjāb and in the Doab, place it nearly beyond a doubt that they (the Arians) could not have been the race by whom India was originally peopled. For, we must either suppose that both of these two races, the Arian and the non-Arian, grew up together in India, where we find them in contact from the earliest period, or that one or both of them have immigrated into that country from without. But it seems unlikely that two races differing so essentially, as these Arians and non-Arians appear to have done both physically and intellectually, could have sprung up naturally in the same country, under the same climatic influences, or, if they did so, that their language, religion, and institutions, should have been so different. It is much more likely that one or both of them should have been foreign. The fact is that both have probably immigrated into India from the north-west;[125] but the evidence in favour of this supposition is far stronger in the case of the Arian, than in that of the non-Arian tribes. For, besides the proofs derived from their language, which clearly connects them with the nations to the west of the Indus, we have the evidence of their complexion,

[125] In the App. note L, I shall quote the views of the Rev. Dr. Caldwell and other writers, regarding the origin and relations of the different non-Arian tribes.

which in the present day is far fairer than that of the aborigines, and in earlier times, was probably still more clearly distinguishable from the dark colour of the latter, (see pp. 284, 309.) But if neither of these two races was indigenous in India, and if they did not at first occupy any portion of that country contemporaneously with each other, which of them is most likely to have been the first possessor? We must no doubt conclude that the Dasyus or barbarous races were the earliest occupants. For as Lassen observes (see above p. 308), we perceive evident traces of the Arians having severed asunder an earlier population, and driven one portion of it towards the northern and another towards the southern hills; and the inhabitants of the Vindhya range, and of the Dekhan, appear always as the weaker and retiring party who were driven back by the Arians. And we cannot ascribe to the non-Arian tribes the power of forcing themselves forward through the midst of an earlier Arian population to the seats which they eventually occupied in the centre and south of the peninsula: for the Arians were from the beginning a more powerful and civilised people than their adversaries, and from a very early period have held them in subjection. It is indeed objected by Mr. Curzon (see above p. 299), that these rude so-called aboriginal tribes may have been descended from some of the barbaric hordes, who under the name of Śakas, Hūnas, &c., are mentioned by Sanskrit writers as having invaded India, and some of whom, after their defeat, may have taken refuge in the hills and forests of Hindusthan. But I apprehend that this explanation will not meet the facts of the case. We can have no assurance, that such legends as that regarding the Śakas which is quoted in the First Part of this work (p. 177, ff.), have any historical foundation. And the period at which the Indo-Scythians, who were repelled by Vikramaditya, made themselves masters, and retained possession, of the western frontiers of India, cannot be placed much earlier than the commencement of the Christian era. (See Lassen's Ind. Antiq. vol. ii. 365, ff., 398. 408, 409.) But the traces which we discover in Indian literature

of the existence of the Dasyus are (as we have seen from the various Vedic texts cited above) much older than this period.

In conclusion, I return to the point from which I started at the commencement of this volume; and, as the result of the preceding investigations, repeat the following propositions: First, that the Hindus of the superior castes are sprung from the same race with the Indo-European nations of the west: Secondly, that as the parent race had its origin in Central Asia, the Indian branch of it could not have been indigenous in Hindusthan, but must have immigrated into that country from the north-west.

I must, however, reserve for a future Volume, the historical evidence of my assertion, that the fourfold division into castes was unknown to the earliest progenitors of the Hindus, and was only gradually developed after the settlement of the Indo-Arians in Northern India, and coincidently with numerous modifications in their original mythology and worship.

# APPENDIX.

## NOTE A, p. 267.

"The conformities [between the languages of the same family] are astonishing; and especially so, because they enter into the minutest details, and even into the anomalies. It is a curious phenomenon to discover such an inconceivable tenacity in idioms which might appear to be nothing more than passing caprices. The most volatile portion of languages, I mean their pronunciation, has evinced its stability: in the midst of mutations of letters, which are, nevertheless, subject to certain rules, vowels, long or short, have often preserved their quantity." "On the other hand the disparity is great: the distances which the languages have traversed in their individual development are immense. After we have exhausted all the analogies, even the most secret, there remains in each of these languages a portion which is no longer susceptible of comparison with the other languages of the same family. We must therefore admit as the causes of that partial incommensurableness, two opposite principles, viz., *oblivion* and *invention*. The oblivion of forms and words formerly in use is but too manifest in the languages with whose history we are most intimately acquainted; and it has frequently injured their richness and beauty. Such oblivion must always follow a retrograde movement in civilisation: in proportion as the intellectual sphere is contracted, a generation which has relapsed into ignorance and barbarism, abandons expressions which have now become superfluous. And as regards invention, I find no difficulty in that either, since in order to comprehend the absolute origin of language, we have no choice between having recourse to a miracle, and conceding to mankind an instinctive power of inventing language."—A. W. von Schlegel, de l'origine des Hindous, Essais; and in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, vol. ii. p. 433.

## NOTE B, p. 285.

"Strabo tells us that the tribes of the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Sogdians, spoke nearly the same language. We can have no difficulty in supposing that this similarity of speech which existed in Strabo's age, existed also in earlier times. The old Iranian dialects, of which the monuments have been still preserved to us, justify this assumption. Of these there are four, (1.) the speech of the earlier Achæmenidæ, (2.) that of the later Achæmenidæ, (3.) the dialect of the Gāthās,[1] (4.) the old Bactrian, the ordinary language of the Avesta. The two last dialects might perhaps also be embraced under the designation of Avestic. The first two of these dialects belong to western, the last two to eastern, Iran."—Spiegel, in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprachf. ii. 6. I must refer to the original paper for further details regarding these dialects. I will only quote one or two remarks. In his account of the old Persian or earlier Achæmenidan dialect, Spiegel observes (p. 7), that, "we find in it all the classes of the Sanskrit alphabet represented, excepting the cerebrals, which have a purely local origin." (See above, p. 460, note.) At p. 13, he remarks: "We have pointed out in the entire grammar of the old Persian so much that is identical with the Sanskrit, that it may now be time to notice the differences which stamp it as a distinct language from the old Indian. Not a few such peculiarities are to be found in all the departments of grammar. In a phonetic aspect, there is this important deviation that the old Persian has the letter *z*, which is unknown to the Sanskrit, and that it, like the Greek, changes the Indian *s* into *h*."—(See above, pp. 314, and 316.)

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## NOTE C, p. 294.

Rig-veda ix. 113. 7—11. *Yatra jyotir ajasram yasmin loke svar hitam | Tasmin mām dhehi pavamāna amṛite loke akshite | Yatra rājā Vaivasvato yatrāvarodhanam divaḥ | Yatrāmūr yahvatīr*

[1] [It is scarcely necessary to say that this has no connection with the Indian Gāthā dialect, described above, pp. 124, ff. J.M.]

*āpas tatra mām amritam kṛidhi | Yatrānukāmam charaṇam trināke tridive divaḥ | Lokā yatra jyotishmantas tatra mām*, &c. | *Yatra kāmā nikāmāścha yatra bradhnasya vishṭapam | Svadhā cha yatra ṭriptiścha tatra mām*, &c. | *Yatrānandāścha modāścha mudaḥ pramuda āsate | Kāmasya yatrāptāḥ kāmās tatra mām*, &c. | "Place me, O purifier (Soma), in that divine unchanging region, where perpetual light and sunshine abide. Make me immortal in the world where king Vaivaśvata (Yama) reigns, where the sanctuary of the sky is, and the great waters are. Make me immortal in the third heaven, where action is unrestrained, where the shining regions exist. Make me immortal in the world where all enjoyments exist, in the realm of the sun, where celestial food and satisfaction are found. Make me immortal in the world, where there are manifold pleasures and joys, and where the objects of desire are attained." Benfey, Gloss. to Sāma-veda, under the word *nikāma*, renders *svadhā* and *ṭriptiḥ* by "nectar and ambrosia."

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## NOTE D, p. 295.

I shall here translate or abstract, the most important parts of Dr. Windischmann's Dissertation, "On the Soma-worship of the Arians." Dr. Windischmann begins with the following remarks: "If we advert to the striking contrast which exists between the doctrine of Zarathustra, and the Brahmanical system, and to the fact that the former must be looked on as the work of a reformer seeking to preserve the old nature-worship from the mythological transformations with which it was threatened, it must appear as a matter of the greater importance to throw light upon those points in which the two religions agree. For as regards those conceptions which existed before the two systems had developed their opposing principles, we may reasonably assume that they were possessed in common long before the separation of the Arian race into the Indian and Iranian branches, that they formed part of the (already existing, and distinguishable) religions of the Zendavesta and the Veda, and that they had been inherited from the most primitive tradition. Such traditions are, indeed, comparatively few; but the concurrence of those which have been preserved, is so much the more striking; as,

for example, Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 517) has shown in regard to the Iranian legend of king Yima, son of Vivañghat, who corresponds to the Indian Yama, son of Vivasvat. Yima, however, is regarded by the Medo-Persians as the first king, lawgiver, and founder of the Iranian worship, while Yama is looked on by the Brahmans as lord of Hades, (R.-V. i. 35. 6.), and judge of the dead, and it is his brother Manu who plays the same part as Yima." "But by far the most remarkable analogy is that which exists between the Haoma of the Zendavesta, and the Soma of the most ancient Brahmanical books, an analogy which is not confined to some few features of the legend, but extends to the entire Soma-worship of the early Arian race.

"*Haoma* and *Soma* are names etymologically identical. Both come from the root *su*, in Zend *hu;* which signifies, 'to beget,' and also, but especially in the Vedic dialect, to 'drop,' or 'to press out juice.' In later Indian mythology Soma means the moon and its deity: but in the Zendavesta and the Vedas it signifies a celebrated plant, and its juice. This is the asclepias acida, or sarcostema viminalis, the expressed juice of which produces a peculiarly astrigent, narcotic and intoxicating effect. The plant,[2] plucked up by the roots, is collected by moonlight on the mountains; stripped of its leaves; carried on a car drawn by two goats to the place of sacrifice (where a spot covered with grass and twigs is prepared); crushed between stones by the priests; and is then thrown, stalks as well as juice (sprinkled with water) into a sieve, whence, after the whole has been further pressed by the hand of the Brahmans, the juice trickles into a vessel (called *droṇa*) which is placed beneath. The fluid is then mixed with clarified butter, wheaten and other flour, and brought into a state of fermentation; it is then offered up thrice a day, and partaken of by the Brahmans. The Sāma-veda is almost entirely made up of songs to accompany this ceremony; and the Rig-veda, too, contains numerous passages which have reference to it. It was unquestionably the greatest and the holiest offering of the ancient Indian worship. The sound of the trickling juice is regarded as a sacred hymn. The gods drink the offered beverage; they long for it (as it does for them); they are nourished by it, and thrown into a joyous intoxication: this is the case with Indra, (who performs his great deeds

[2] Compare Stevenson's Translation of the Sāma-veda, p. iv. This work is repeatedly referred to in the sequel.

under its influence), with the Aśvins, the Maruts, and Agni. The beverage is divine, it purifies, it inspires greater joy than alcohol, it intoxicates Śukra, it is a water of life, protects and nourishes, gives health and immortality, prepares the way to heaven, destroys enemies, &c. The Sāma-veda distinguishes two kinds of Soma, the green and the yellow: but it is its golden colour which is for the most part celebrated.

"If we compare all this with what the Persians say of the Haoma plant, we find the most surprising agreement. Haoma is the first of the trees, planted by Ahura Mazda in the fountain of life. He who drinks of its juice never dies. According to the Bundehesh, the Gogard or Gokeren tree bears the Haoma, which gives health and generative power, and imparts life at the resurrection. The Haoma plant does not decay, bears no fruit, resembles the vine, is knotty, and has leaves like jessamin; it is yellow and white. Its juice is prepared and offered with sacred rites, and is called Para-haoma. Thus in Yaśna, iii. 5, it is said *haomencha para-haomencha ayēśē*, 'I reverence the Haoma and the Para-haoma.'

"The fact that the Magians offered up a plant was known to Plutarch [3], but what this plant was is not certain. . . . . The plant

[3] The paragraph in which this information is found (of which Windischmann cites only a few words) is as follows:—

Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. 46. Νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν· οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμείνονα θεὸν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον δαίμονα, καλοῦσιν· ὥσπερ Ζωρόαστρις ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γεγονέναι, ἱστοροῦσιν. Οὗτος οὖν ἐκάλει τὸν μὲν Ὡρομάζην, τὸν δὲ Ἀρειμάνιον· καὶ προσαπεφαίνετο τὸν μὲν ἐοικέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δὲ ἔμπαλιν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ· μέσον δὲ ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι· διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσιν· ἐδίδαξε μὲν τῷ εὐκταῖα θύειν καὶ χαριστήρια, τῷ δὲ ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρωπά. Πόαν γάρ τινα κόπτοντες ὅμωμι καλουμένην ἐν ὅλμῳ, τὸν Ἅδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον· εἶτα μίξαντες αἵματι λύκου σφαγέντος, εἰς τόπον ἀνήλιον ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ῥίπτουσι. Καὶ γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν νομίζουσι τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος εἶναι· καὶ τῶν ζώων, ὥσπερ κύνας καὶ ὄρνιθας καὶ χερσαίους ἐχίνους, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· τοῦ δὲ φαύλου τοὺς ἐνύδρους εἶναι, διὸ καὶ τὸν κτείναντα πλείστους εὐδαιμονίζουσι.

"For some think that there are two gods, as it were opposed in their functions, the one the framer of good objects, the other of bad. Some call the more excellent being God, and the other Demon; as Zoroaster, the Magian, who is related to have lived 5000 years before the Trojan war. He called the one Ōromazes, the other Arimanius, and declared that the former resembled light most of all sensible things, and the latter darkness and ignorance. He also said that Mithras was intermediate between them. This is the reason why the Persians call Mithras the mediator. He taught them to sacrifice votive and thank-offerings to the one (Oro-

seems to have changed with the locality; and the soma-plant of the Indians does not appear to be the same as the haoma of the Persians; at least the latter affirm that their sacrificial plant does not grow in India. Ahura Mazda causes the white haoma to grow among the numerous kinds of trees. . . . . A constant appellation of the haoma is the gold-coloured (*zairigaonō*) just as in the Veda.

"But these are not the only points of resemblance between the Soma worship of the Indians and Persians. There is one other very important particular in which they both agree. In the Vedas, Soma is not merely a sacred sacrificial beverage, but also a god. This is proved by numerous passages of the Veda (Stevenson, p. 98); and in particular by the splendid hymn to Soma, Rig-veda, i. 91. Precisely in the same manner, Haoma is, in the Zendavesta, not a plant only but also a powerful deity; and in both works the conceptions of the god and the sacred juice blend wonderfully with each other. The most important passages regarding this personified Haoma are to be found in the 9th and 10th sections of the Yaśna, which are explained by striking analogies in the hymn of the Veda just referred to. The 9th section begins thus: 'In early morning Haoma came to Zarathustra, who was consecrating his sacred fire, and repeating prayers. Zarathustra asked him "What man art thou, whom I see to be the most excellent in the whole existing world on account of his immortal life?" Hereupon Haoma, the pure, the remover of sickness, answered me, "I am, O Zarathustra, the pure, the remover of sickness. Invoke me, holy man, pour me forth to drink, celebrate me with praise, as formerly the holy men used to do." Then Zarathustra said, "Reverence to Haoma."'[4]

mazes), and to the other gloomy oblations to avert his wrath. For after pounding a certain herb called *ōmōmi* in a mortar, they invoke Pluto and darkness; and when they have mixed it with the blood of a slaughtered wolf, they carry it to a sunless spot and cast it away. They also regard certain plants as belonging to the good deity, and others to the evil demon; and some animals, as dogs, and birds, and hedgehogs, to the former, (and others as) sea-urchins, to the latter; and they felicitate those who have killed the greatest number of these last."

[4] Compare Spiegel's translation of the same passage, and its continuation, Avesta, ii. 68, ff. In note 4 he remarks: "Haoma, like various other deities of the Avesta, is regarded as at once a personal god, and as the thing on account of which this god was imagined. Haoma is at once a Yazata and a drink. The original identity of the Indian Soma with the Haoma of the Avesta has been excellently shown in F. Windischmann's dissertation. Among both nations the healing power of the Haoma is prominently noticed, but among the Parsis it is particularly the white

Haoma is here called 'remover of heat, or sickness,' and in the same way Soma is said in Rig-veda, i. 91. 12, to be *amīvahā* 'the destroyer of suffering.' This passage of the Yaśna clearly shows how, as I have before mentioned, the separate ideas of the god and of the juice are blended. Haoma desires that he himself shall be prepared for sacrifice.

"This passage is followed by a specification of the four original worshippers of Haoma. The first was Vivañhat, who prepared the celestial beverage *hunūta*, and in consequence obtained a blessing, and the fulfilment of his wish that a son should be born to him. This was King Yima, the most glorious of men, in whose realm men and animals never died, water and trees never dried up, food was superabundant, and cold, heat, disease, death and devilish envy were unknown.

"What has before been said of Yima shows the importance of this passage. The worship of Haoma is placed anterior to Yima, *i. e.*, to the commencement of Iranian civilization; and in fact is declared to be the cause of that happy period. The Rig-veda also refers to this high antiquity of the Soma worship, when (i. 91. 1.) it says of Soma: 'By thy guidance, O brilliant (Soma), our courageous fathers have obtained treasures among the gods.' Like Vivañhat, the two next worshippers of Haoma, viz, Athwya and Thrita, also obtained offspring,—Thraētaonō and other sons who destroyed the Ahrimanian monster. The heroic age of the conflict of Light is thus referred back to Haoma, whilst in the Rig-veda (i. 91. 8), Soma is invoked to 'deliver from destruction, to suffer none of his friends to perish;' and (in verse 15) to protect from incantations and from sin; and in the Sāma-veda (Stevenson, p. 259), he is said to drive away the Rakshasas.

"It is interesting to remark, that while Thraētaonō is said here to have been bestowed by Haoma, the Sāma-veda names a Ṛishi Ṭrita as an offerer of Soma.

"The fourth worshipper of Haoma is Pourusaśpa, the father of Zarathustra: his reward was the birth of this illustrious son, the promulgator of the anti-demonic doctrine. Here also the ancient

Haoma which imparts immortality. The Indian plant is the asclepias acida; the Persian is not determined. Both nations notice that the plant grew on mountains, and originally, at least, it must have been the same plant which both employed."

legend confirms the priority of the Haoma worship to the Zoroastrian reformation.

"When Zarathustra has thus learnt that he owes his own existence to Haoma, he celebrates his praises; and the epithets which he here applies to the god, agree in a remarkable way with those of the Veda. Some of these parallel epithets are *hvaresa*, Zend,=*svarshā*, Sanskrit (R.-V. i. 91. 21), 'giving light;' *verethrajao*, Zend,=*vritrahā*, Sanskrit (R.-V. i. 91. 5), 'destroyer of enemies;' *hukhratus*, Zend,=*sukratuh*, Sanskrit, (R.-V. i. 91. 2), 'offering good sacrifices, or 'wise,' or 'strong.' The blessings supplicated by Zarathustra from Haoma also agree in many points with those which the Vedic poet asks from Soma."

It is not necessary, however, to pursue the subject farther. I refer the reader, who wishes further details of this sort to Dr. Windischmann's dissertation itself.

I copy the following remarks on the Soma worship from Mr. Whitney's "Main Results of the later Vedic Researches in Germany," (Journal of the Amer. Orient. Society, iii. 299, 300.) The "hymns, one hundred and fourteen in number [of the 9th Book of the Rig-vida] are, without exception, addressed to the Soma, and being intended to be sung while that drink was expressed from the plant that afforded it, and was clarified, are called *pāvamānyas* 'purificational.' . . . . . The word *soma* means simply 'extract,' (from the root *su* to express, extract), and is the name of a beverage prepared from a certain herb, the asclepias acida, which grows abundantly upon the mountains of India and Persia. This plant, which by its name should be akin to our common milk-weed, furnishes like the latter, an abundant milky juice, which, when fermented, possesses intoxicating qualities. In this circumstance, it is believed, lies the explanation of the whole matter. The simple-minded Arian people, whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature, had no sooner perceived that this liquid had power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary phrenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine; it was, to their apprehension, a god, endowing those into whom it entered with god-like powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice; the instruments used therefor were

sacred. The high antiquity of this cultus is attested by the references to it found occurring in the Persian Avesta; it seems, however, to have received a new impulse on Indian territory, as the *pāvamānya* hymns of the Veda exhibit it in a truly remarkable state of development. Soma is there addressed as a god in the highest strains of adulation and veneration; all powers belong to him; all blessings are besought of him, as his to bestow. And not only do such hymns compose one whole book of the Ṛik, and occur scattered here and there through other portions of it, but the most numerous single passages and references everywhere appearing, show how closely it had intertwined itself with the whole ritual of the Vedic religion."

Lassen remarks in reference to the affinities of the Iranians and Indians (Ind. Ant. i. 516): "It should first be recollected that the Zendavesta shows us the [Iranian] doctrine not in its original, but in a reformed shape; a distinction is made between the men of the *old* and of the *new* law; and we may conclude that the points wherein the Brahmanical Indians and the followers of Zoroaster coincide, belong to the old, and those in which they differ, to the new system. Of the beings who are the objects of veneration in the Avesta, it is the seven highest, *i. e.* Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Śpentas, who are peculiarly Iranian; their names are unknown to the Brahmans; the Vedas recognize no class of seven divinities of the highest rank who are of the same character. On the other hand there is no trace of Brahma among the Iranians. The fundamental principle of the Zend doctrine, the dualistic separation of the good and evil principles is, in like manner, foreign to Brahmanism. But there are, nevertheless, other deities, who are equally venerated in the Zendavesta and the Veda, viz., fire, the sun, the moon, the earth, and water; a fact which indicates that both religions have a common foundation."

Lassen also treats of the legend of Yima, and of other points of connection between the Indian and Iranian religions, pp. 517–526; and then observes: "The common reminiscences of the Eastern Iranians, and the Arian Indians, cannot be explained from any communications, such as neighbouring nations might make to one another. On the contrary, we perceive sometimes a varying, sometimes a contradictory, conception of important traditions and appellations, which is only intelligible if we presuppose an earlier agreement, which had, in part, become lost and modified in the

course of time, after the separation of the two nations; and in part had become converted into a contradiction by a division in their opinions. Even this contradiction indicates a closer connection between the two nations at an earlier period."

See also Professor R. Roth's articles in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, for 1848 (pp. 216, ff.), 1850 (pp. 417, ff.), and 1852 (pp. 67, ff.), on the legends of Feridūn and Jemshīd, and on the "highest gods of the Arian nations;" and also his paper on Nabānazdista, at p. 243 of the last named volume. In the vol. for 1848, p. 216, he proposes to show by an example, "how the Veda and the Avesta flow from one fountain, like two streams, the one of which, the Vedic, has continued fuller, purer, and truer to its original character; while the other has become in many ways polluted, has changed its original course, and consequently cannot always be followed back with equal certainty to its sources." See also Professor Müller's "Last Results of the Persian Researches."

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## NOTE E, p. 315.

"The question regarding the time and place of the separation is of yet greater importance than that concerning its cause. For our present inquiry, it is of less consequence to determine the place, than the time, of that separation. As regards the region where the Indians and Iranians dwelt together, several suppositions may be made. The Iranians may have immigrated into the Panjāb along with the Indians, and have turned thence in a westerly direction. But, on the other hand, the Indians might have separated themselves from the Iranians, and travelled towards the east. Thirdly, it might be conjectured that the two races had parted from each other before they migrated towards India and Iran. Be this as it may, though we are unable to assign any date to the period of the separation, we must decidedly hold it to have occurred before the Vedic era. No such relation exists between the two races as would justify us in assuming that the Iranians formed one community with the Indians during the Vedic period. The great majority of the Vedic gods and of the Vedic conceptions are as little known to the Iranians, as the Iranian conceptions are to the Indians. The ideas which are common

to both nations may be most easily and satisfactorily explained by supposing them to have been developed in the ante-Vedic period." Spiegel, in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur vergl. Sprachf. vol. ii. pp. 3 and 4.

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## NOTE F, p. 317.

"It is the common view that it was religious grounds which occasioned the separation of the Indians and Iranians. This opinion is supported by the fact that the names of several divinities which have a good signification among the one people, are used in a bad sense by the other, and *vice versâ*. Thus the Indian *deva* (god), has become a demon among the Iranians under the form of *daeva;* and Indra as Añdra has experienced a similar degradation. It must not be denied that these differences of conception *may* have had their foundation in a religious schism between the two nations; but this opinion should not be regarded as more than a probable conjecture, or held to be a historical fact, which follows from the linguistic data with the same certainty as the proposition that the Indian and Iranian nations had originally the same common ancestors. Other possible modes may be conceived, in which this opposition may have arisen; such as the internal development of the Iranian people itself. We have only to reflect on the case of the German religions, and their ancient gods, who, in presence of Christianity, came to be regarded as evil spirits. Dualism, with its rigorous consequences, was a power which operated in Iran in precisely the same manner as Christianity did in Germany. This dualism, which was a result of the particular development of the Iranian people, was compelled to make room in its system, in the best way it could, for those forms of religious belief which it found already in existence, and did not feel itself strong enough to discard. Many beings formerly regarded as gods, may thus have been transformed into evil spirits, because they stood in too strong a contrast to the new moral system. It appears to me that the opposition between the religious conceptions of the Indians and the Iranians grew up gradually, and not all at once, in consequence of a reform of Zarathustra, as some have assumed." Spiegel, as above, p. 3.

## NOTE G, p. 336.

Ptolemy, Geogr. vi. 16. has the following notice of Ottorocorra: — Ὄρη δὲ διέζωκεν τὴν Σηρικὴν, τά τε καλούμενα Ἀννιβα, κ. τ. λ. "The country of Serica is surrounded by mountain ranges," viz., the Annibian, the Auxacian, the Asmiræan, the Casian, the Thagurian, and that of Emodus:

Καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ὀττοροκόῤῥας, οὗ τὰ πέρατα ἐπέχει μοίρας ρξθ λ᾽ καὶ ροᾱ λθ. "[Another of these ranges] is that called Ottorocorras, the limits of which extend from 169° 36′ to 176° 39′ east long."

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀρκτικώτερα τῆς Σηρικῆς κατανέμονται ἔθνη Ἀνθρωποφαγῶν. "The northern parts of Serica are inhabited by the tribes of the Anthropophagi" (men-eaters). The Annibi, Sizyges, &c., follow:

Καὶ μεσημβρινώτατα παρὰ τὰ Ἱμωδὰ καὶ Σηρικὰ ὄρη Ὀττοροκόῤῥαι. "And southernmost of all, near the Emodian and Serican mountains, dwell the Ottorocorræ."

Among the cities of Serica is mentioned Ottorocorra, in east long. 165° 37′ 15″.

Ottorocora is again alluded to by Ptolemy in book viii., in his remarks on the eighth map of Asia:—

Ἡ Ὀττοροκόρα τὴν μεγίστην ἡμέραν ἔχει ὡρῶν ιδγο ἔγγιστα· καὶ διέστηκεν Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς ἕω ὥραις ἑπτά. "The greatest length of the day in Ottorocora is nearly 14⅔ hours. It is distant from Alexandria seven hours towards the east."

See, for an account of Ptolemy's geographical system, Lassen's Ind. Ant. iii. 94, ff.; and for the position of Ottorocorra, the map at the end of the same volume.

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## NOTE H, p 344.

In regard to *Airyanem Vaējo*, Lassen observes, (Ind. Ant. i., 526, ff.): "If we assume that the Arian Indians and the Iranians had originally the same common abodes, out of India, we should expect to find a tradition on the subject among the latter people rather than among the former. We have already said that the Indians have no longer any legend of this sort, though they imagine a sacred region and the seats of the gods to exist to the north of India.[5]

The Iranians, on the contrary, clearly designate *Airyanem Vaējo* as the first created country: this they place in the extreme east of the Iranian highlands, in the region where the Oxus and Jaxartes take their rise. This country was afflicted with winter by Ahriman, and had only two months of summer, as if the tradition of a decrease in the earth's temperature still existed. We must suppose the cold highlands on the western slopes of Belurtag and Mustag to be meant," &c. [The next paragraph will be quoted in Note K]. The following remarks are added: "It suffices to have made it *probable* that the earliest abodes of the Indians and Iranians are to be sought in the extreme east of the Iranian highlands; but we may assert it to be *more than probable* that the Indians were derived from *some* part of the Iranian country. . . . . The means of arriving at a conclusion on this subject are uncertain; we can only form conjectures from a review of the later geographical positions occupied by these nations; and we are thus led to fix on the country lying between the Caspian sea and the highlands before mentioned, as having been most probably their ancient seats."

See also Ariana Antiqua, p. 134, quoted in Note K.

Baron von Bunsen also treats of the first Fargard of the Vendidad in one of the Appendices to his Bibel-werk, vol. v. pp. 315, 316.

[s] Lassen's idea, quoted in p. 349, that the "daily prospect of the snowy summits of the Himālaya, glittering far and wide over the plains," and the knowledge the Indians had of the "table-land beyond, with its extensive and tranquil domains, its clear and cloudless sky," &c., would point out the "north as the abode of the gods, and the theatre of wonders," is confirmed by Homer's description of Olympus, Odyss. vi. 42, ff.:

Οὔλυμπόνδ', ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
Ἔμμεναι· οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται, οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρῳ
Δεύεται, οὔτε χιὼν ἐπιπίλναται· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἴθρη
Πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη.

"Olympus, where they say the blessed gods
Repose for ever in secure abodes:
No stormy blasts athwart those summits sweep,
No showers or snows bedew the sacred steep;
But cloudless skies serene above are spread,
And golden radiance plays around its head."

This, however, is the ideal Olympus. The mountain is styled *ἀγάννιφος*, "snowy," in Iliad i. 420, where the scholiast explains the discrepancy by saying that the epithet "snowy" applies only to the parts below the clouds, the summits being above the clouds and exempt from rain or snow.

I abstract the following remarks:—"The sacred books of Zoroaster's followers begin with a description of the gradual diffusion of the Arian races of Bactria, as far as the Penjab. The account of these migrations of the Bactrian Arians is preceded by a remarkable reference to the primeval country in the north-east, from which their forefathers removed to their present abodes, in consequence of a great natural convulsion. It appears that that once perfect primeval country, Airyana, had originally a very mild climate, until the hostile deity created a powerful serpent, and snow; so that only two months of summer remained, while winter prevailed during ten. The country next occupied was Sogdiana; and the third Bactria. The progress of the Arians with their civilisation is, as it were, the march of Ahura Mazda, the lord of spirits. This advance has a historical import, for all the countries which are specified form a continuous series, extending towards the south and west, and in all of them the Arian culture is discoverable, and even now (in part exclusively) predominant. The first named country can be no other than that where the Oxus and Jaxartes take their rise; the table-land of Pamer, and Khokand. Assuming the genuineness and antiquity of the Bactrian tradition, we have here a testimony deserving of the highest consideration, to the historical character of the Biblical tradition regarding the interruption of the life of the Asiatic population by a great natural convulsion confined to this locality. The country lying between the highlands just mentioned to the east, and the mountains of Caucasus and Ararat to the west, with the Caspian Sea in its centre, is regarded by scientific geologists, such as Humboldt and Murchison, as the very region where the most recent convulsions of nature have occurred. The snow and the prolonged winter alluded to in the oldest Arian tradition must have been the result of an upheaving of the land into mountains."

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## NOTE I, p. 358.

"Now there can be no doubt that by the Kophen is to be understood the Kabul River; for Arrian says, that having received the Malamantus, Suastus, and Garœus, it mixes with the Indus, in the country of Peukelaotis; and the latter part of Alexander's operations west of

the Indus, shortly before he crosses that river, are carried on in the same district along the Indus and the Cophen." — Wilson, Ariana Ant., p. 183. "The united stream [of the Punjkora and Sewat] is called either the Punjkora or Sewat River; and this may explain why Arrian, in his Indica, speaks erroneously of a Suastus as well as a Garœus, whilst in Ptolemy we have no other river than the Suastus described."—Ibid. p. 190. "Alexander crossed, according to Arrian's narrative, four rivers before he reached the Indus; and these, the Kophen, Khoes, Euaspla, and Garœus, we have still in the Punjshir, Alishung, Khonar, and Punjkora. . . . Thus even Arrian is a better authority as an historian than as a geographer, for he describes in the latter character, the Kophen as bringing with it to the Indus, the Malamantus, Suastus, and Garœus; two of which he does not name at all in his narrative, and of which the third is probably the same with the second."—Ibid. p. 194. Lassen, on the contrary, holds that Ptolemy is in error. "It must surprise us," he remarks (Ind. Ant., iii. 129), "that, of the rivers of Eastern Kabul, Ptolemy mentions only the Suastos, and passes over the Garoias[6] in silence, though this river must have been known to him from the accounts of the writers of the Macedonian age, who, however, are wrong in making the Suastos to unite not with it, but with the Kophen. This is the more surprising, as Ptolemy is acquainted with the region called Goryaia after that river. . . . Ptolemy is thus misled into making the Suastos rise too far to the north." See also Lassen's Ind. Ant. ii. 668, 669.

In any case, the existence of a river in the Kabul country, called Suastus at the date of Alexander's expedition, is undoubted.

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## NOTE J, p. 367.

In the Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. 108, Professor H. H. Wilson translates parts of a long passage in the Karṇa Parva, or viiith book of the M.-Bh., verses 2025, ff., in which the manners of the Bāhīkas, Madras, Gāndhāras, Araṭṭas, and other tribes of the Panjāb are stigmatised as disgraceful. The same text is quoted and translated in the appendix to M. Troyer's Rājataraṅginī, vol. ii. pp. 549, ff. I will cite a few specimens from this passage. The

[6] The ancient name was Gaurī; the present is Panjkora.

country where the Bāhīkas dwell is thus defined (verses 2029, ff.): *Vahishkṛitā Himavatā Gangayā cha vahishkṛitāḥ | Sarasvatyā, Yamanuyā Kurukshetreṇa chāpi ye | Panchānām Sindhushashṭhānām nadīnām ye'antarāśritāḥ | Tān dharmavāhyān aśuchīn Bāhīkān parivarjayet.* "Let every one avoid those impure Bāhīkas, who are *outcasts*[7] from righteousness, who are *shut out* by the Himavat, the Gangā, the Sarasvatī, the Yamunā, and Kurukshetra, and who dwell between the five rivers which are associated with the Sindhu (Indus), as the sixth."

Their women are thus described (v. 2035): *Gāyanty athacha nṛityanti striyo mattāḥ vivāsasaḥ, Nagarāgāravapreshu vahir mālyānulepanāḥ*, &c. "The women drunk and undressed, wearing garlands, and perfumed with unguents, sing and dance in public places, and on the ramparts of the town," &c.; with much more to the same effect.

Again (v. 2063, ff.): *Panchanadyo vahanty etā yatra nissṛitya parvatāt, Āraṭṭa nāma Bāhīkā na teshv Āryo dvyham vaset.* (v. 2068, ff.) *Āraṭṭa nāma te deśā Bāhīkam nāma tajjalam; Brāhmaṇāpasadā yatra tulyahālāḥ Prajāpateḥ. Vedo na teshām vaidyañcha yajño yajanam eva cha, Vrātyānām dāsamīyānām annam devā na bhunjate. Prasthalā Madra-Gāndhārā Āraṭṭā nāmataḥ Khaśāḥ, Vasāti-Sindhusauvīrā itiprāyo 'tikutsitāḥ.* "In the region where these five rivers flow after issuing from the mountains, dwell the Bāhīkas, called Araṭṭas; let no Arya dwell there even for two days. . . The name of the country is Araṭṭa; the water of it is called Bāhīka. There dwell degraded Brahmans, contemporary with Prajāpati (?). They have no Veda, no Vedic ceremony, nor any sacrifice. The gods do not eat the food offered by Vrātyas and servile people. The Prasthalas, Madras, Gandhāras, Araṭṭas, Khaśas, Vasātis, and Sindhusauvīras are nearly all very contemptible." Again it is said of the same country (v. 2076, ff.) *Tatra vai Brāhmaṇo bhūtvā tato bhavati Kshattriyaḥ, Vaiśyaḥ Śūdraścha Bāhīkas tato bhavati nāpitaḥ, Nāpitaścha tato bhūtvā punar bhavati Brāhmaṇaḥ. Dvijo bhūtvā cha tatraiva punar dāso 'bhijāyate. Bhavatyekaḥ kule Vipraḥ prasṛishṭāḥ kāmachāriṇaḥ, Gāndhārā Madrakāschaiva Bāhīkāśchālpachetasaḥ.* "There a Bāhīka born a Brahman, becomes afterwards a Kshattriya, a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra, and eventually a barber.

[7] These expressions "dharma-*vāhyān*" and "*vahish*-kṛitāḥ" seem to contain a play on the name of the *Bāhīkas*. This tribe is mentioned in the Ś. P. Br., quoted above, p. 213.

And again the barber becomes a Brahman. And once again the Brahman becomes a slave. One Brahman alone is born in a family among the senseless Gāndhāras, Madras, and Bāhīkas; the [other brothers] act as they will without restraint."

In the Rājatarangini, i. 307, ff., the Gāndhāra Brahmans are thus characterised:—*Agrahārān jagṛihire Gāndhāra-brāhmaṇās tataḥ, samānaśīlās tasyaiva dhruvan te 'pi dvijādhamāḥ, Bhaginīvarga-sambhoga-nirlajjā Mlechhavanśajāḥ, Snushā-sangati-saktāścha dāradāḥ santi pāpinaḥ. Vastubhāvais tathā bhādya (bhāṭya?) bhāryyā-vikrayakāriṇaḥ*, &c. "Then the Gāndhāra Brahmans seized upon rent-free lands; for these most degraded of priests were of the same disposition as that tyrannical prince. These sinners sprung from Mlechhas, are so shameless as to corrupt their own sisters and daughters-in-law, and to offer their wives to others, hiring and selling them, like commodities, for money."

M. Troyer remarks (vol. ii. 317) that "the inhabitants of the Panjab are in this passage of the M.-Bh. named generally Bāhīkas and Araṭṭas, while the Gāndhāras are associated with the different tribes into which these inhabitants are subdivided, such as the Prasthalas and Madras, in such a way that it can scarcely be doubted that the former (the Gāndhāras) lived in their neighbourhood, diffused like them between the six rivers of that country. . . The Sindhu-Gāndhāras mentioned, Raj. i. 66, lived on the Indus."

And Wilson says, (As. Res. xv. 105): "According to the M.-Bh. the Gandhari are not only met with upon crossing the Setlej and proceeding towards the Airāvatī (Ravi), or where Strabo places *Gandaris*, but they are scattered along with other tribes throughout the Panjab, as far as to the Indus, when we approach Gandaritis. According also to our text (Rāj. i. 66) one body of the Gandhari appear to occupy a division of their own on the last river, which is named after that very circumstance, Sindhu-Gandhar, and these may have extended westward as far as the modern Candahar." In his Vishṇu-Pur., p. 191, note 83, the same writer says of the Gandhāras: "These are also a people of the north-west, found both on the west of the Indus, and in the Punjab, and well known to classical authors as the Gandarii and Gandaridæ." See also Rawlinson's Herodotus, iv. pp. 216, 217.

The definition given of the Gandhāra country in p. 356 may be modified accordingly.

## NOTE K, p. 370.

Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 527, remarks as follows: "The opinion that the original seats of these [the Indian and Iranian] nations are to be sought here in [the extreme east of the Iranian highlands], receives great confirmation from the fact, that we find branches of these nations on both sides of this lofty range; for the ancient inhabitants of Casghar, Yarkhand, Khoten, Aksu, Turfān, and Khamil are Tājiks and speak Persian; it is from this point only that they are diffused towards the interior of upland Asia; so that their most powerful germ seems to have been planted on this range."

And Professor H. H. Wilson says: "Without extending the limits of India, however, too far to the north, there is no reason to doubt that the valleys of the Indian Caucasus were properly included within them, and that their inhabitants, as far as to the Pamer mountains and Badakhshan were Indians, who may have been at first tributary to Persia, and afterwards subjects of some branches of the Greek race of Bactrian kings."—Ariana Antiqua, p. 134.

Badakhshān is the country on the banks of the Oxus, near its sources, situated between lat. 36° and 38° north, and lying eastward from Balkh. Pamer lies in the same direction. See the map in Ariana Ant., p. 214, or that of Ancient India in Lassen's Ind. Ant., vol. ii.

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## NOTE L, p. 463.

A question of considerable interest here presents itself, on which it may be desirable to make a few remarks, viz., whether the indigenous or non-Arian races, who now speak Tamil, and the other languages of the southern group, are of the same family as those tribes who were brought into contact with the Aryas on their first arrival in India, and the remains of whose languages have survived in the vernacular dialects of northern Hindusthan. The late Rev. Dr. J. Stevenson appears to have been of opinion that the non-Sanskrit element in the northern and southern vernacular dialects was originally to a great extent the same, and that the

people who spoke them also belonged to one race. He remarks (Art. vii. Journ. Bombay Branch Roy. As. Soc., No. XII. for 1849), "It is usually taken also for granted that between the non-Sanskrit parts of the northern and southern families of languages there is no bond of union, and that the only connecting link between the two is their Sanskrit element. It is to this last proposition that the writer of this paper demurs." He afterwards proceeds: "The theory which has suggested itself to the writer as the most probable is, that on the entrance of the tribes which now form the highest castes, those of the Brahmans, Kshattriyas and Waisyas, into India, they found a rude aboriginal population, speaking a different language, having a different religion, and different customs and manners; that by arms and policy the original inhabitants were all subdued, and in great numbers expelled from the northern regions, those that remained mixing with the new population, and being first their slaves, and then forming the Sudra caste. The language of these aborigines is supposed to have belonged to the southern family of languages, the most perfect remaining type of which family is the Tamil." The fundamental affinities of the northern and southern languages are then discussed by Dr. Stevenson in various papers in the same journal, which appeared in the years 1851 and 1852. Dr. Caldwell, however, has expressed his dissent from Dr. Stevenson, both in regard to the affinities between the pre-Aryan races themselves of the north and of the south, and their original languages. (See pp. 38, ff. and 69, ff. of his Dravidian Grammar.) In regard to the languages he remarks (p. 39, ff.) that the hypothesis of their affinity does not appear to him to have been established; as though various analogies in grammatical structure seem to connect the non-Sanskrit element in the north-Indian idioms with the Scythian or Tartar tongues, yet that no *special* relationship of the former to the Dravidian languages has yet been proved to exist. If the non-Sanskrit element in the northern vernaculars (p. 40) had been Dravidian, we might have expected to find in their vocabularies a few primary Dravidian roots such as the words for head, hand, foot, eye, ear; whereas Dr. Caldwell has been unable to discover any trustworthy analogy in words belonging to this class. Further research, he adds (p. 42), may possibly disclose the existence in the northern vernaculars of distinctively Dravidian forms and roots, but their presence does not yet appear to be proved; and he therefore concludes that the non-

Sanskrit portion of the northern languages cannot safely be placed in the same class with the southern, except, perhaps, in the sense of both being Scythian rather than Arian. The same is the opinion of the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson, who in his "Notes on the Maraṭhi Language," in the preface to the second edition of Molesworth's Marathī Dictionary (p. xxii.), thus writes:—"The Scythian words in the Marāthī are, in general, like those of the other Turanian tongues, more in their *forms* than in their *sounds*. They differ very much from the vocables of the Turanian languages in the south of India, (the Canarese, Telugu, Tāmul, and Malayālam), the comparison of the dictionaries and grammars of which throws but little light on the Marāthī; and though they may be classed in the same tribe of languages, they evidently belong to a different family, to a different Turanian immigration into India, yet to be explored by the combined labours of the philologist and the ethnographer." Regarding the question whether the non-Arian tribes of the north and the south are themselves of the same stock, Dr. Caldwell remarks (p. 72) that the Dravidians may be confidently regarded as the earliest inhabitants of India, or at least as the earliest that entered from the north-west, but it is not so easy to determine whether they are the people whom the Arians found in possession, or whether they had been already expelled from the north by the irruption of another Scythian race. Without deciding this point positively, Dr. Caldwell is led by the apparent differences between the Dravidian languages and the aboriginal element in the northern vernaculars, to incline to the supposition that the Dravidian idioms belong to an older stage of Scythian speech; and if this view be correct, it seems to follow that the ancestors of the Scythian or non-Arian portion of the north-Indian population must have immigrated into India at a later period than the Dravidians, and must have expelled the Dravidians from the greater portion of north-India before they were themselves subjugated by a new race of Arian invaders from the north-west. In any case Dr. Caldwell is persuaded that it was not by the Arians that the Dravidians were expelled from northern India, and that, as no reference occurs either in Sanskrit or Dravidian tradition to any hostilities between these two races, their primitive relations could never have been otherwise than amicable. The pre-Arian Scythians, by whom Dr. Caldwell supposes that the Dravidians may have been expelled from the northern provinces, are not, he con-

siders, to be confounded with the Kolas, Santhals, Bhills, Doms, and other aboriginal tribes of the north, who, he supposes, may have retired into the forests before the Dravidians, or, like the Bhotan tribes, have entered into India from the north-east. The languages of these forest tribes Dr. Caldwell conceives to exhibit no affinity with the aboriginal element in the north-Indian vernaculars. We have therefore, according to the views just summarily expounded, four separate strata, so to speak, of population in India:

*First* and earliest, the forest-tribes, such as the Kolas, Santhals, Bhills, &c., &c. who may have entered India from the north-east.

*Second.* The Dravidians, who entered India from the north-west, and either advanced voluntarily towards their ultimate seats in the south of the peninsula, or were driven by the pressure of subsequent hordes, following them from the same direction.

*Third.* We have the race (alluded to at the end of the preceding head, No. 2) of Scythian or non-Arian immigrants from the north-west, whose language afterwards united with the Sanskrit to form the Prakrit dialects of northern India.

*Fourth.* The Arian invaders who (after separating first from the other branches of the Indo-Germanic stock, and last of all from the Persian branch of that family) advanced into India, drove before them the non-Arian tribes who were previously in possession of the Panjāb and other parts of the north-west provinces of India, and after organising Brahmanical communities, and founding Brahmanical institutions in the north, gradually diffused themselves to the east and south, and eventually extended their discipline, and to some degree their sacred language, to the remotest parts of the peninsula.

To whatever degree the details of this theory may be capable of proof, the general conclusion, at least, seems to be undeniable, viz., that the ancestors both of the Dravidian nations, and of other non-Sanskritic tribes now occupying different parts of India, were in occupation of that country before the immigration of the Arians; and that the former could not (as is erroneously intimated in various Puranic and other traditions) have been descended from the latter. If the Dravidian Cholas, Keralas, &c., were originally Kshattriyas who fell away from Brahmanism, they must have been reconverted to that system; a double process of which there is no historical proof.

# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

(P. 82, line 7.)

The occurrence of the word *yatha-r-iva* for *yathā + eva* in the gāthās of the Lalita Vistara (see p. 130), may be held to indicate, however, that the introduction of the euphonic consonants, peculiar to Pali, had been begun in northern India.

(P. 161, line 27.)

For "ayosmaya" read "ayasmaya."

(P. 165, line 17.)

See also Sāyaṇa's commentary on the verse R.-V. i. 164. 45. He there defines thus the words *vyāvahārikī vāk*: "*Bhogavishayā 'gām ānaya' ityādirūpā vyāvahārikī.*" "The common language is that which refers to objects of enjoyment, such as, *gām ānaya* 'bring the cow?'" These words are of course Sanskrit.

(P. 179, lines 4, 19, 34.)

Compare Benfey's remarks on the Vedic scholiasts, (in the Introduction to his Sāma-veda, p. lxv. lxvi.) where he observes: "How high soever may be the antiquity assigned to the oldest grammatical and hermeneutical treatises on the Vedas, a long period appears to have intervened between these and the composition of the greater portion of the hymns, during which very much that was peculiar to the Vedas was forgotten. Their interpretations rest essentially (as is shewn not merely by the commentaries which have been alluded to, but also by Yāska's Nirukta) on etymology, on conclusions drawn from the context, and the comparison of similar passages. The oldest

attempts at interpretation seem to be contained in Brāhmaṇas, in collections of passages (*nigama*), in collections of words (*nighaṇṭu*) and in explanations (*niruktа*), of which last, two are mentioned by Sāyaṇa, (R.-V. vol. i. p. 45, lines 16 and 18) viz., one by Śākapūṇi and another by Sthaulashṭhīvi, in addition to that of Yāska."

(P. 203, line 27.)

In his Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 140, Weber tells us that "in the Anukramaṇī of Kātyāyana to the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā of the Yajur-veda, the authors (ṛishis) assigned to the particular verses (*ṛich*) usually coincide with the authors assigned to the same verses in the Anukramaṇī of the Rig-veda; but that there are many exceptions to this remark. In particular (as happens also in the Rig-anukramaṇī) the name of the author appears often to be borrowed from some word occurring in the verse. And in the case (a very frequent one) of a verse being repeated in another part of the Vāj.-San., it is often assigned to an author different from the one to whom it had previously been ascribed. Many of the ṛishis here referred to do not occur among those of the Rig-veda, and belong to a later stage than the latter; and among these ṛishis peculiar to the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā there are several who are named in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa as teachers."

(P. 220, line 1.)

In his illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 85, Roth observes in regard to the fifth hymn of the Fourth Book of the R.-V.: "The author of the hymn, Vāmadeva, himself professes to make known a mysterious and recondite wisdom, which had been revealed to him by Agni (verses 3 and 6)." The third verse is as follows: *Sāma dvi-barhā mahi tigmabhṛishṭiḥ sahasraretā vṛishabhas tuvishmān | Padam na gor apagūḷham vividvān Agnir mahyam predu vochad manīshām* || "Agni, occupying two positions, the fierce-flaming, the prolific, the showerer of benefits, the opulent, who knows the venerable hymn, mysterious as the track of a [missing] cow, hath declared to me its knowledge."

(P. 225, line 10.)

"A comparison of the grammatical structure of the Sanskrit, especially in its oldest form as represented in the Veda, with the

Celtic, Greek, Latin, German, Letto-Slavonian, and Persian, &c., teaches us that all these languages have a common basis, or in other words that they are derived from one common original speech; and the gradation of sounds and forms points to the Sanskrit as the language which in general still preserves the most original form, and has departed least from the original tongue. This existence of one common original language necessarily leads us to conclude that at the period when it was still a living and spoken tongue, the people also which employed it formed one nation; and it results that the individual nations as well as their languages were formed by a gradual separation from the Indo-European people, and its language. And, moreover, the greater or less similarity of the several languages among each other, and particularly in reference to the Sanskrit, enables us to conclude whether the separation from the original stock took place in each case at an earlier or a later period."—Weber, Indian Sketches, p. 7.

(P. 226, line 23.)

The want of resemblance between the Semitic and Indo-Germanic languages in respect of their roots is too strongly asserted in the text. The subject is ably treated by Renan, "Histoire des Langues Sémitiques," 2nd ed. p. 434, ff. He observes that the criterion of the distinctness of families in languages is to be found in the impossibility of deriving one from another. Thus, he says, it is quite intelligible how, notwithstanding their differences, all the Indo-European tongues may be related to the same type, and have sprung from the same primitive idiom; while it is impossible to explain how, by any series of corruptions, the Zend or the Sanskrit could have become Hebrew, or how the Hebrew could have become changed to Sanskrit or Chinese (p. 434). It is generally recognized that there is a wide distinction between the grammatical system of the Semitic languages and that of the Indo-European tongues, and that the one system could not be derived from the other by any procedure known to comparative philology. If we except the principles common to all, or to most, languages, (which are nothing else than an expression of the laws of the human mind,) there is scarcely any grammatical mechanism of importance which is common to the two families (p. 444). But in the classification of languages, gram-

matical are much more important than lexicographical considerations [*i. e.* the structure of a language is of much more consequence than the words of which it is composed]. Many languages could be quoted which have enriched or renewed their vocabulary, but very few which have corrected their grammar. Grammar is, therefore, the essential form of language, that which constitutes its individuality (pp. 447, 448). On the other hand M. Renan admits that the Semitic and Indo-European languages have a considerable number of roots which are common to both, independently of such as they have borrowed from each other within the historical period. But he doubts whether this circumstance is sufficient to prove the primitive unity of the two families, and scarcely ventures to hope that a demonstrative result will ever be attained on this point. The greater part of the roots common to the two families owe their similarity, he considers, to natural causes, as they belong to the class of biliteral and monosyllabic onomatopœias, which reappear in the triliteral radicals actually existing, and in which original sensations appear to have left their traces. Is it at all strange, he asks, that in order to express outward action, the primitive man, still sympathising so closely with nature, and scarcely separated from her, should have sought to imitate her, and that the same objects should have been universally imitated by the same sounds? (pp. 449, 450.) M. Renan illustrates these remarks by a number of instances, but admits that, among the roots which appear to be common to the Semitic with the Indo-European languages, there are a certain number in which the reason of the onomatopœia is more difficult to seize (p. 452). He concludes that in the present state of philological science, a sound method of theorising requires us to regard the Semitic and Indo-European families of language as distinct (p. 457); while at the same time he remarks, that nothing which he has adduced invalidates the hypothesis of a primordial affinity between the races by whom the Semitic and the Indo-European languages respectively were spoken (p. 451). For details I must refer to his work itself.

(P. 274, note 28.)

See also Benfey's Complete Sanskrit Grammar, p. 20, where it is said: "ह् appears never to be original in Sanskrit, but to have arisen from the weak aspirates घ ध भ. This derivation can be

illustrated by many examples from the Vedas, or from the kindred languages. Compare the Vedic *dŭghāna* from *duh; sandegha* from *dih; sadha* for *saha; grabh* for *grah.*"

(P. 296, line 6.)

Professor Spiegel has, however, subsequently retracted the opinion here expressed of the identity of the Iranian Airyama with the Indian Aryaman. In Kuhn und Schleicher's Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprachf. i. 131, ff., he says: "I have in my note on Vend. xxii. 23 (p. 266), regarded the Airyama of the last chapter as the Vedic Aryaman. This comparison is only in part correct. It is true that, letter for letter, Airyama is the Sanskrit Aryaman, and therefore the phonetic affinity cannot be doubted. It does not, however, follow that the signification must therefore be the same. If, as is supposed by many, the Iranians had issued from the bosom of the Indian people, if the entire culture of the Indians, as exhibited in the Vedas, had been the basis of theirs, this assumption would be less questionable. But according to my view such is not the case, but the separation of the two nations took place before (though, perhaps, not long before) the Vedic period. The question thus arises whether,—supposing both nations to have already had the word Aryaman,—we are to assume that the conception of the god Aryaman had been already formed. The word occurs in several places in the second part of the Yaśna, where however, the context does not justify us in explaining it as a proper name." Spiegel then goes on to state his opinion that in the last chapter of the Vendidad, Airyama is not to be understood of a god, but merely as denoting a particular prayer in which that word occurs, and which Ahura Mazda discovers to be more efficacious in healing sickness than another sacred text to which he had first had recourse.

(P. 321, line 5.)

I find, on recurring to Mr. Curzon's paper (p. 192), that he is of opinion that "it was subsequently to their extension over this territory [the Dekhan] and its occupation, which may be regarded as the third era in their history, when the Aryans had attained an advanced state of civilization, when the Vedas had been composed, and a

national system of religion established; when the Brahmanical hierarchy had been formed, the Aryan tongue cultivated, and codes of law compiled; when tribes had separated under particular princes, and founded different governments in various parts of the country; when religious schisms had begun to arise, anti-Brahmanical sects had increased, political dissensions and civil war had spread their effects —that the migrations in a westerly and north-westerly direction which terminated in the extension of the Aryan tongue over the geographical zone," [including Ariana, Persia, Armenia, Phrygia, Greece, Italy, Germany, &c., &c.,] which he had "pointed out, took place." Thus explained, his theory becomes far less probable than in the form in which I have stated it in the text (p. 321). If the Arians, or rather (in that case) the already Brahmanized Indians, had invaded and conquered the countries lying to the west of the Indus at a period subsequent to their occupation of the Dekhan and to the full development of their civilisation and their peculiar institutions, it is scarcely conceivable that no trace of this sweeping invasion should have remained either in their own literature, or in that of any of the western nations, and that no specifically Brahmanical influences should have been discoverable in the religious or political systems of Persia, Greece, Rome, or Germany; for the period at which such a supposed extension of the *Brahmanical* Indians took place could not have been an "ante-Hellenic" era (p. 187); nor, consequently is it imaginable that all record of it should have disappeared in a presumed "age of darkness" (p. 186). The "ante-Hellenic" period terminated at least 1000 years B.C., and the Brahmanical institutions could not have been developed very long before that time.

(P. 321, line 31.)

I may add as a further answer to the reasoning which I have combated in this paragraph, that if, as is there supposed, the Aryas had been indigenous in Āryāvartta, and had sent out colonizing or conquering expeditions from their aboriginal cradle to the west of the Indus, it might have been expected that they would also have colonized the south of India at the same early period at which these presumed expeditions must have been made. But we have no record of any such early Arian occupation of the Dekhan; for the era of Agastya and Rāma is comparatively recent.

(P. 323, line 29.)

In R.-V. ix. 74. 8, we find the words, *Kakshīvate śatahimāya*, "to Kakshīvat who has lived a hundred winters."

(P. 342, line 5.)

In a paper "On the Geographical Arrangement of the Arian Countries mentioned in the First Fargard of the Vendidad," published in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1856, pp. 621—647, Dr. Kiepert contests the conclusions of Dr. Haug and others in regard to the position of some of the countries. Dr. Haug defends his own views in a paper in the Journ. of the Germ. Or. Society, vol. xi. pp. 526—533.

(P. 357, note 79.)

In his translation of Sāma-veda, ii. 247 (=R.-V. ix. 41. 6), Benfey translates *rasā* by 'ocean.' In his Glossary he explains it of "a particular river which separates the world of Indra from that of the Panis (?)"; referring to R.-V. x. 108. In R.-V. i. 112. 12 he explains it of the river Rasā.

(P. 383, line 18.)

After the word "maturity;" add "the distinction between those who observed them strictly and those who observed them laxly could not have arisen;"

(P. 413, line 3.)

Compare Manu, xi. 20. *Yad dhanam yajñaśīlānām deva-svam tad vidur budhāḥ | Ayajvanāntu yad vittam āsura-svam tad uchyate ||* "The wealth of those who practise sacrifice is regarded by the wise as the property of the gods; but the wealth of those who never sacrifice is called the property of the Asuras." See also Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, 13. 8. 1. 5. and Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 189; as well as the text from the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa cited in the First Part of this work, p. 14.

(P. 413, note, line 7 from the bottom.)

For p. 401 read p. 402.

(P. 425, line 15.)

At a later period, after the commencement of the Mahomedan inroads into Hindusthan, southern India came to be regarded as the

sanctuary of the Brahmanical religion and learning. Thus in the verse of Vyāsa cited by Weber (Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 247, note), it is said: *Samprāpte tu kalau Kāle Vindhyādrer uttare sthitāḥ | Brāhmaṇā yajñarahitā jyotiḥ-śāstra-parāngmukhāḥ |* "In the Kali age the Brahmans living to the north of the Vindhya are destitute of sacrifice, and averse to astronomy;" while another law book quoted by the same writer, says: *Vindhyasya dakshiṇe bhāge yatra Godāvarī sthitā | tatra Vedāścha yajñāścha bhavishyanti Kalau yuge |* "In the Kali age the Vedas and sacrifices will be found to the south of the Vindhya, on the banks of the Godāvarī."

(P. 435, line 13.)

In R.-V. iv. 4. 15. another epithet, viz. *aśas*, "one who does not praise [the gods]," is applied to the Rakshases. *Daha aśaso Rakshasaḥ pāhi asmān druho nido mitramaho avadyāt:* "Thou who art to be revered by thy friends, burn the Rakshases who offer no praise; deliver us from the reproach of the oppressor and the reviler."

END OF THE SECOND PART.

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